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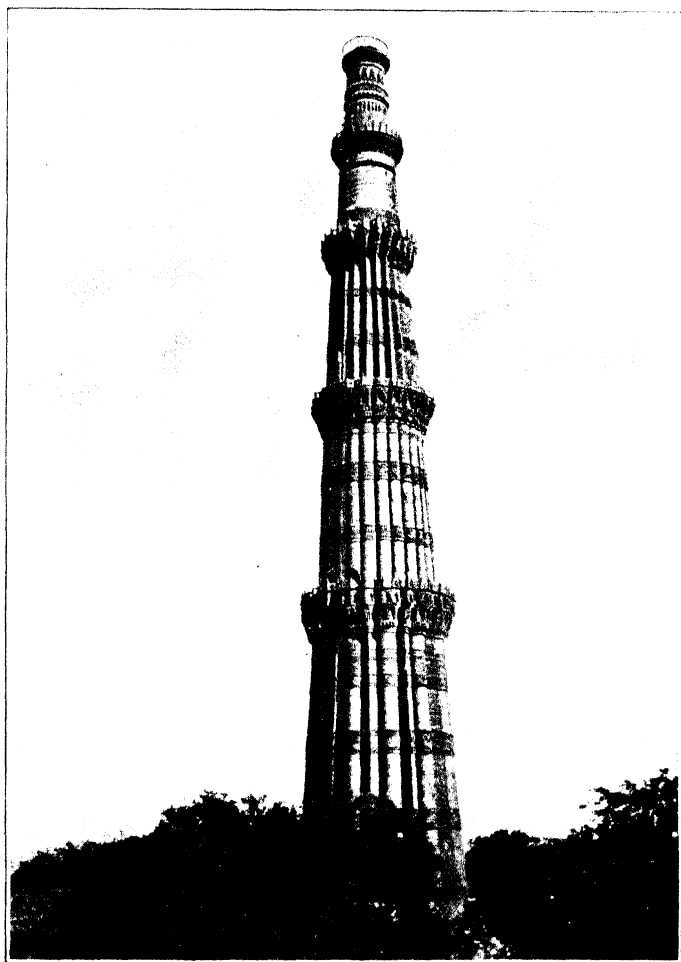












QUTB MINAR.

# THE SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI

A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

BY

COLONEL SIR GORDON HEARN, *Kt.*

C.I.E., D.S.O., R.E. (retired)

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SECOND EDITION

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

This book first appeared over twenty years ago. The Author had been engaged on the construction of the Agra-Delhi Railway, and, during a year spent at Delhi, he guided several friends to see the monuments. Thinking that his experience would be useful to others, he spent much time in making notes, and in taking photographs for the bulk of the illustrations, receiving the kind assistance of several persons who had a long acquaintance with the cities, and with the sad memories of the Siege. He thus forms a link with the past.

For the greater part of the two following years he studied history, and wrote both this and a hitherto unpublished book on the Siege. The Bibliography will show that up to the present over 140 works have been consulted, for his interest in the subject has not ceased. It is very gratifying to find that few errors have come to light, for a detailed history of this sort has required a great deal of verification. Gordon Sanderson

of the Archæological Department, in a monograph on the Palace, accepted much new information, found in the Library of the India Office, among photographs and in a plan with vernacular names, by the Author.

Since the First Edition appeared General Sir Alexander Taylor, an authority without rival on the Siege, has passed away, and so have other authorities with first-hand knowledge, who assisted the Author. But he has to thank friends for further information, and in particular the Commandant of the King George's Own Bengal Sappers and Miners for permission to reproduce a drawing of the Storming of the Cashmere Gate, from the original by Eyre Croome, a picture hanging in the Royal Engineers' Mess at Roorkee.

Two photographs taken immediately after the Siege of 1857 have been copied by kind permission of the India Office.

Twenty years ago Delhi presented much interest to the sight-seer and to the antiquarian, but now there is a large resident population, to whom the study of the old monuments will be of still greater interest, and to which they can devote more time. Many live in houses which are noticed

in this book, and the history of which is given.

The entire absence of foot-notes is in the reader's interest, and deliberate. The breaks in the narrative caused by discussion of different versions would be irritating. Human interest is deemed of greater importance than close analysis of evidence.

"Men differ in their composition," says the Indian proverb, and the attempts at portraying the characters of the kings and emperors of Delhi prove this truth. In the architecture of the ancient monuments we can trace the transition from the rude, stern characters of the early invading conquerors, to the luxury-loving emperors of that constantly invading tribe of Moghals, once they had settled down in a country, flowing with milk and honey but engendering fatal habits of indifference and indecision. It may be significant that the early British bungalow in India was built to the pattern of a tent. It has been said that the employment of money and labour to build palaces is a sign of decadence.





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# THE SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE SEVEN CITIES.

*Map of the Seven Cities, page 67.*

This is the History of Delhi, the Capital of India during many centuries. Akbar spent millions on Fatehpur Sikri, Shahjahan on Agra, the British on Calcutta, but sooner or later the spell of Delhi re-asserted itself or, prosaically speaking, its geographical position outweighed all other considerations. All roads and railways lead to Delhi. Its climate is not ideal, and never probably will it become the seat of Government in the summer, any more than in the days when its rulers moved to Cashmere. But the headquarters of Government are now firmly fixed here, and a British Viceroy can look much further over the dominion entrusted to his charge than Hindu King or Mahomedan Emperor. Although a practical people has spent much money on public works and the raising of the material condition of India, it has called its best architects and town planners to design the buildings, which house the large staff of Government and the members of the Legislature. Whether the centralisation, which has followed the building of railways and telegraph lines, has led to entire

efficiency may be questioned, but there is no doubt that Delhi is more than ever the nerve centre of the Indian Empire. Here on historic ground meet and debate Princes and representatives of the people, and here will some day, no doubt, be celebrated the coming of age of a Nation. But the present is built on the outstanding facts of the past, and seldom is that so evident as at Delhi, where the old builders were not minded that their conceptions should perish but continue to stand after their mean surroundings had crumbled to dust.

Delhi has well been described as the Indian Rome; the seven hills of Rome are represented by the seven cities of Delhi. In modern Rome the hills are difficult to distinguish, because of the many buildings, which cover the whole site; modern Delhi, on the other hand, only occupies a small portion of the sixty square miles, over which are scattered the monuments of its former greatness, and the abandoned cities are difficult to trace on the deserted plains.

The ancient cities of Delhi (except a portion of one) lay to the south of the modern city, and the monuments which indicate their sites (for the old walls have practically disappeared) are scattered over an area of ground, which measures roughly eleven miles long by five miles wide. These monuments have been erected during a period of time which extends over certainly nine centuries, and some of them have a still greater antiquity, but one difficult to estimate. It is most interesting to trace the evolution of the different architectural styles, which, with the aid of inscriptions, make it

possible to judge the period to which a building belongs. Most of these buildings are connected with men whose histories we know, and especially kings, whose tombs abound. The following table commences with the Mahomedan conquest, because we are not exactly acquainted with the dates of the Hindu rajas who reigned before that time. The names of contemporary English monarchs have been added, to enable a comparison with the times at which the various kings and emperors ruled India, or at least Delhi.

*First Dynasty. The Turks, or "Slaves."*

1.	1206.	Kutb-ud-din, slave of	John.	1199.
		Mahomed of Ghor.		
3.	1210.	Altamsh, slave of 1	.. Henry III.	1216.
4.	1236.	Firoze Shah, son of 3	..	
5.	1237.	Riziyat, daughter of 3	..	
6.	1240.	Bahram Shah, son of 3	..	
8.	1246.	Mahmud Ghorî, son of 3	..	
9.	1266.	Balban, slave of 3	.. Edward I.	1272.
10.	1287.	Kai Kubad, son of 9	..	

*Second Dynasty. Khilji.*

1.	1290.	Jalal-ud-din	..	
2.	1296.	Ala-ud-din, son of 1	.. Edward II.	1307.
4.	1316.	Mubarik, son of 2	..	
5.	1320.	Khusru Khan	..	

*Third Dynasty. Tughlak Shahis.*

1.	1320.	Tughlak Shah	..	Edward III.	1327.
2.	1325.	Mahomed Ibn Tughlak,	..		
		son of 1.			
3.	1351.	Firoze Shah, nephew of 1	.. Richard II.	1377.	
8.	1393.	Mahmud, grandson of 3	.. Henry IV.	1399.	

*Fourth Dynasty. Sayyads.*

1.	1414.	Khizr Khan	..	Henry V.	1413.
2.	1421.	Mubarik Shah, son of 1	..	Henry VI.	1422.
3.	1434.	Mahomed Shah, grandson of 1			

## THE SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI.

### *Fifth Dynasty. Lodis (Afghans).*

- |    |       |                            |  |
|----|-------|----------------------------|--|
| 1. | 1450. | Bahlol Lodi .. ..          | Edward IV. 1461.<br>Richard III. 1483. |
| 2. | 1488. | Sikandar Lodi, son of 1 .. | Henry VII. 1485.                       |
| 3. | 1518. | Ibrahim Lodi, son of 2 ..  | Henry VIII. 1509.                      |

### *Sixth Dynasty. Moghals.*

- |    |       |                      |  |
|----|-------|----------------------|--|
| 1. | 1526. | Babar .. ..          |  |
| 2. | 1530. | Humayun, son of 1 .. |  |

### *Interregnum. Afghans.*

- |    |       |                               |                                 |
|----|-------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | 1540. | Sher Shah drives out Humayun. |                                 |
| 2. | 1545. | Islam Shah, son of 1 ..       | Edward VI. 1547.<br>Mary. 1553. |

### *Moghal Dynasty resumed.*

- |     |       |  |   |
|-----|-------|--|---|
|     | 1555. | Humayun returns.                                     |   |
| 3.  | 1556. | Akbar, son of Humayun ..                             | Elizabeth. 1558.  |
| 4.  | 1605. | Jahangir, son of 3 ..                                | James I. 1603.  |
| 5.  | 1627. | Shah Jahan, son of 4 ..                              | Charles I. 1625.  |
| 6.  | 1658. | Aurangzeb, son of 5,<br>whom he deposed.             | Cromwell,<br>Protector. 1653.<br>Charles II. 1660.<br>James II. 1685.<br>William and<br>Mary. 1689. |
| 7.  | 1707. | Shah Alam Bahadur Shah,<br>son of 6.                 | Anne. 1702.   |
| 8.  | 1712. | Jahandar Shah, son of 7 ..                           |   |
| 9.  | 1713. | Farukhsiyar, nephew of 8 ..                          | George I. 1714.   |
| 12. | 1719. | Mahomed Shah, cousin of 9 ..                         | George II. 1727.  |
| 13. | 1748. | Ahmad Shah, son of 12 ..                             |   |
| 14. | 1754. | Alamgir II, son of 8 ..                              |   |
| 15. | 1759. | Shah Alam, son of 14 ..                              | George III. 1760.   |
| 16. | 1806. | Akbar Shah II, son of 15 ..                          | George IV. 1820.<br>William IV. 1830.   |
| 17. | 1837. | Bahadur Shah, son of 16,<br>and last of the Moghals. | Victoria 1837.  |

It will be observed that the numbers of the kings of Delhi in their respective dynasties are not consecutive, but all have not been included, for some reigned a very short time, and have little to do with the monuments at Delhi. The comparative table is distinctly interesting, for it shows that in

English history kings have succeeded each other as quickly as those of Delhi.

The plains to the south of the modern city of Delhi present an extraordinary aspect. In fact, we have to imagine London deserted, the houses pulled down, and the materials removed; St. Paul's Cathedral, the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square, and a few other buildings standing in solitary grandeur; hamlets scattered about here and there; and we have some idea of the havoc which has been wrought. The walls of Old Delhi and of Tughlukabad have not been entirely removed, but of the other four cities next to nothing remains to show their limits. Much the same thing may be seen at Old Goa, where churches and monasteries stand scattered about, with hardly a house at hand to shelter a worshipper.

It may well be asked, "Why did they abandon a city which had been surrounded by walls, and was therefore secure; why pull down those walls to build others not so very far off?" Many a city in India still occupies the same site which it has occupied for many centuries; at least, the inhabitants have but very slightly shifted their houses. The explanation of this will be attempted later; but first let us consider the seven cities of Delhi in the order in which they were built.

If Hindu tradition is to be believed, the city of Indraprastha, sung of in the great Indian epic, the "Mahabharata," was situated on these plains; over the possession of this city were waged the wars, described in such detail in that tremendous poem, in comparison with which the "Iliad" of Homer and



the "Aeneid" of Virgil are of small dimensions. Strange to say, this earliest city also is said to have been abandoned by the Pandus, headed by King Yudisthira; and their reason for doing so was that, one day, when the cover of a dish was removed, the king found on the food a fly. The king saw in this impertinence of a small insect a hint that the glory had departed, and at once abandoned the city, to perish in the Himalayas. The Hindus of Delhi have for years believed, and still believe, that the "Purana Kila" occupies the site of Indraprastha; but on what facts this tradition may be founded cannot be stated. Most writers on the subject of Delhi appear, if somewhat doubtfully, to have accepted this tradition, although rejecting the idea that the walls of "Purana Kila" belong to Hindu times, which they certainly do not. At least one writer goes further, and accepts the modern tradition that the Nigambodh Ghat of the "Mahabharata" was situated outside the Nigambodh Gate of Shahjahanabad. But there is every reason to believe that this site, not so many centuries ago, was covered by the waters of the Jumna. That the city of Indraprastha stood on the traditional site is not altogether impossible, but there is no sign to-day of such a city. The probable date of its foundation, wherever it may have stood, is 1450 B.C.

Written Hindu history is practically non-existent, and we are now in the epoch known as the Iron Age, the deeds performed in which are not considered worthy of record. However there must have been a great deal of writing, but mostly

on perishable materials, in fact modern papers in an Indian climate cannot be expected to last. Birch bark, bamboo chips, and palm leaves, were the materials used, but skins and parchment were ritually impure. The use of cotton cloth is mentioned by one of the historians of Mahmud of Ghazni. Paper was not introduced until the eleventh century. All we have are certain inscriptions on pillars or copper-plates, and these usually concern themselves only with religious matters, such as the resolutions of Buddhist councils, or grants of land to temples. Nevertheless with the aid of the various rock, cave and pillar inscriptions scattered about India, an early Indian history has been pieced together, and perhaps the closing of the gaps which exist will be possible at no distant date.

The earliest mention of Delhi, as a city of that name, occurs in the songs of Hindu bards; there is a legend, in one of these lays, of the site having been abandoned for 792 years before it was re-peopled. We are told, from an inscription on the Iron Pillar, that "Ang Pal built Delhi in A.D. 1052." Another inscription is attributed by Vincent Smith to Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya (sun of power) circa 375 A.D.; the exact date of his accession is not known. Fahian, a Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the reign of this King, and notes the royal favour extended to Buddhist monasteries. But when we turn to ancient historians for light, we find them silent.

The Greek historians, who took their accounts from those who accompanied Alexander the Great

in 326 B.C., mention Muttra, but not Delhi, or any name like it: the historians were, it is true, only able to obtain hearsay evidence, for Alexander was not able to march further than the Hyphasis (the modern Beas), but this goes to show the unimportance of Delhi at that time. One suggestive remark by Arrian, who got his information from Megasthenes, an Ambassador of Seleucus (the successor of Alexander) to Chandra Gupta, King of Magadha or Behar, must be quoted; this has to do with the question of the abandonment of traditional Indraprastha. He says, "Such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers. . . are built of wood, instead of stone, so destructive are the heavy rains, which pour down, and the rivers also, when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains." a picture descriptive of modern Bengal.

Between 190 and 153 B.C., India was invaded by Graeco-Bactrian armies, one under Menander, King of Cabul and the Punjab, and mention is made of Muttra as one of the places taken, but there is not a word of Delhi, although it must have lain in the route to the former place. Four Chinese pilgrims visited India, between A.D. 405 and 695, to visit the Buddhist shrines, among which those at Muttra were prominent; but there is not a single mention in their writings of Delhi. This, however, may prove only that Delhi was not a stronghold of Buddhism, for only those places find record. Nevertheless, the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang must have passed close to the site of Delhi, for he retraced his steps from Muttra to Thanesar, and, had Delhi been a very large or important city, he would surely

have left some notice of it. We have accounts of India dating from about A.D. 1000, when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the country seventeen times, sacked Kanauj and Muttra, and other places of importance, and Hamilton says that the historians of Mahmud record a Raja of Delhi in 1008 and the plundering of the city in 1011.

We may, therefore, surmise that Delhi was first occupied somewhere about the year A.D. 300, that the city was afterwards abandoned, for some cause which we do not know, and that it was not re-peopled until A.D. 1052, after the final retirement of Mahmud of Ghazni. Anang Pal was a Tuar, which tribe had been forced to leave Kanauj, which was sacked by Mahmud; possibly it was this forced migration which led him to think of Delhi as his new capital. He must, however, have had a considerable force at his disposal, for Delhi lay direct in the route of foreign invaders, the incursions of whom were still fresh in men's minds, although they had for the time being ceased.

In Old Delhi the Tuar kings, Anang Pal and his successors, reigned apparently undisturbed for a century, during which time they were able to build the city walls, and construct certain masonry dams and tanks, about eight miles to the south-east. It is true that the reputed dates of these latter works would make their construction date from about the middle of the eighth century, but this may be explained by a mistake in the era from which the dates are counted. In A.D. 1151 there was an irruption of Chauhan Rajputs, under Visala Deva

of Ajmere, who conquered Delhi, but an arrangement was come to, by which the Tuar should marry a Chauhan princess, and their off-spring be King of Delhi. We have evidence of this Chauhan conqueror in an inscription on the pillar of Asoka, which stands in the Kotila of Firoze Shah. This inscription is dated A.D. 1164, and records the power of Visala Deva, whose kingdom extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Vindhya Range, bordering the Nerbudda River.

This king probably was the grandfather of Prithwi Raja, who built the citadel of Lalkot, in Old Delhi, and who, after once defeating the Mahomedan invaders, in his turn met with adverse fortune, being killed by them in 1193 on the battlefield of Tilauri, between Thanesar and Karnal. And so Old Delhi passed into Mahomedan hands, and became the capital of the invaders; here the first Mahomedan kings of India ascended the throne, and erected those monuments, prominent among which is the Kutb Minar. We must presume that Delhi was then the most important Hindu city, at all events in this part of India, for twenty-seven temples had been built within its limits. It was retained as their principal city by the victorious Mahomedans.

A century later, the confined area of Old Delhi was not able to accommodate the growing population, and suburbs stretched out into the plains to the north-east. A great horde of Moghals now invaded India, penetrated as far as Delhi, and plundered the defenceless suburbs. Ala-ud-din,

therefore, in 1303, had to entrench his army at Siri to cover them, and, when the Moghals retired, he there constructed the second city.

In A.D. 1320, Tughlak Shah came to the throne, the whole of the princes of the previous dynasty having disappeared. He was a stern old warrior, accustomed to the constant attacks of enemies whom he had met in the frontier province, where he had been "Warden of the Marches," and he was not content with the comparatively low walls of Old Delhi, which gave less security than he considered desirable. So he built a city, five miles to the east-ward, round a rocky hill, which gave the isolation which he required. Rocky hills, however, do not give facilities for obtaining water, and, although reservoirs might store a certain amount for emergencies, nevertheless the inhabitants would prefer to remain in the plains, where wells or tanks could easier supply their wants. The traditional cause for the desertion of Tughlukabad is a curse uttered against the place by the saint Nizam-ud-din. He was engaged, at the time of the building of the city, in building his own dwelling, and the king wanted every mason available, at all events he forbade them to work for the saint. The latter had to get them to work for him at night, but the king heard of it, and ordered that no oil should be supplied to him. This difficulty was got over by the use of his miraculous powers, but the saint was very much annoyed, and cursed the new city. "May it remain deserted, or may it be a habitation for Gujars," said he; and in that state is Tughlukabad to this day.

The large population, which resided on the open plain between Old Delhi and Siri, was still in a very insecure position, and so Mahomed Tughlak, second of the dynasty, found it necessary to construct walls to join up the two cities on either side; thus was made the fourth city, Jahanpanah.

When Firoze Shah had firmly seated himself on the throne, in succession to Mahomed Tughlak, he also constructed a city, Firozabad, four or five miles to the north-east of Siri, in 1354. The exact extent of this city is not quite certain, but it covered a portion of the modern city, and perhaps had a suburb extending up to and round the Ridge, to the north.

After the Moghal conquest, Humayun built the Purana Kila in 1534. When he was turned out, Sher Shah, or his son Islam, built the walls of a sixth city, which occupied a part only of Firozabad. Only a few hundred feet of the walls of this city remain, and even that short length is considered by some not to have belonged to the outer walls at all.

Finally, the seventh, and last, city was built in 1648 by Shah Jahan, the third great Moghal emperor, who pulled down what was left of Firozabad, and of the walls of Sher Shah's city, to build the walls of his own. No doubt the nobles followed suit, and quarried a great quantity of the stone walls for their own houses, and the greater part of those walls have gone.

So we have traced, in chronological order, the seven cities of Delhi. What were the reasons which induced these monarchs to build new cities, instead

of being content with the walls of the first, extended, if necessary, to contain a larger population? In answer, we may quote an Indian proverb, "Three things make a city—Daria, Badal, Badshah." That is to say, a river, rain-bringing clouds, or an emperor (who can enforce his wishes). Two of these three causes emphasize the necessity for water, without large quantities of which life in a hot country would soon become unendurable. The storage of rain-water in tanks may prove sufficient for ordinary purposes, but the river comes first in the estimation of the Hindu, because it is sacred, and in it he must bathe on festival days. All the great cities of Hindustan are situated on the banks of a river; Muttra, Kanauj, Allahabad, and Benares are examples. It is, therefore, suggested that it was found necessary to move the cities of Delhi to the north-east, to follow the Jumna river, which once flowed not so very far from Old Delhi, but has gradually set further and further east, a process which is going on to-day, the extent of which has been considerable, even during the last century. In Daniell's "Oriental Scenery," published in 1793, there is a plate, showing the river close up to the Kudsia Bagh; now, even during the rainy season, it flows at a considerable distance.

The rivers of Northern India, in comparison with which the Thames is a mere rivulet, flow through plains of sand and silt, and wander very considerably. It is a matter of difficulty to keep them in their courses, and to prevent their leaving the large railway-bridges high and dry and finding a new course elsewhere. The soil is quite powerless



to resist the cutting of the river. In the cold weather, the volume of water is comparatively small, and the river is unwilling to give itself unnecessary trouble in cutting its banks, but follows a meandering course, loop following loop. This condition of quiet is yearly disturbed. As the summer heats melt the snows, the river begins to rise, and to spread itself over the spits, or spurs, which jut out at each bend. Rising still further, it covers them entirely, and the channel becomes, it may be, a mile wide. Then come the rains, and a flood comes down, invading a still greater area.

Now, while the river is in flood, it flows in a straight course and in short cuts across its loops. At the lower end of each short cut there is a sudden drop in the bed, and a greater velocity, the result of which is the erosion of the alluvial mud to such an extent that one or other projecting spur (now under water) may be cut right through, and the main channel of the river entirely altered. The river, as it subsides, resumes a meandering course, but in order to do so has to change its course for miles. In the course of centuries there is scarcely an acre within the valley limits which will not, sooner or later, be eroded quite away, and in turn re-formed.

We may surmise that this state of affairs existed in the Jumna valley, near Delhi, and that the liability of the plains to be flooded caused the founder of Old Delhi to choose a site for his city on the rocky hills near the Kutb Minar. It is possible that, if Indraprastha was founded here, the river flowed west of its present course, and that gradu-

ally it took a more easterly course, encroached little by little, and swept the city away. The possible date of the foundation of that city was three thousand three hundred years ago. The influence of the Ridge may not have been so great on a broader river. Nowadays the Jumna alters its course very slightly indeed. It is turned to the east by the fort of Salimgarh, and by the modern city, built on ground which centuries ago was at a much lower level, and not safe from flood. The extensive felling of Himalayan forests may have caused a diminution of the precipitation of rain; the withdrawal by great canals has rendered the river usually powerless. Yet in 1924 the Jumna came down in great flood, almost reaching the girders of the railway bridge, and inundating ground thought to be quite secure at Delhi, Muttra and Agra.

History and observation both suggest that the course of the river has altered within the last few centuries. Turkman Shah, the saint, is said to have lived and to have been buried on the banks of the river, and the Queen Riziya was buried in 1240 on the river-bank. The graves of both are near the Turkman Gate, far from the river in its present bed. Mubarik Shah founded an incomplete city on the bank, and was buried within it. His tomb is not far from a ravine, now partly filled by the New Capital, and which starts between the Ajmere and Turkman gates of the modern city; this looks extremely like an old bend of the river. Finch, who saw Delhi in January, 1611, calls this ravine, spanned by the "Barah Palah" bridge, near Nizam-ud-din's

shrine, an "arm of the Jumna." In 1678, 250 Rajputs held this bridge against pursuers for a whole day, so that the ravine cannot have been fordable and this was in July. Then, again, the ravine which runs near the walls of the enclosure of Roshan Chiragh Delhi, may be part of an old channel. The walls of Old Delhi, where they cross the Kutb Road, appear to follow an old river-bank. There is a tradition that a Hindu king built the Kutb Minar in order to enable his daughter to see the receding river daily without the trouble of taking a fatiguing journey. To show the effect of the canals on the river, it is on record that the reopening of the canal of Firoze Shah, about 1820, caused the flood-level at Muttra to fall two feet.

Whatever influence the "Daria" had on the shifting of the cities of Delhi, one by one to the north-east, there has certainly been a great change in the climatic conditions, so that the wells in Old Delhi have almost dried up, the tanks and reservoirs are never now filled, and it would be impossible for a large population to exist within the walls. The Hindu proverb thus is justified; and it was probably the vagaries of the river, and the failure of the clouds to pour down their waters, rather than the caprice of emperors, which have been the causes of the construction of so many cities.

Another reason for the fitness of Delhi for the site of cities is the existence of a good building stone. The hills, which lie to the west of the Jumna Valley, continuing in the Ridge to its northern-most point, are of volcanic character, and are an offshoot of the Aravalli range, which joins

the Vindhya range on the northern bank of the Nerbudda River. Those hills therefore are the northern-most outpost of the true Indian Peninsula, north of which in prehistoric times there was a great sea. The Himalayas and the ranges on the North West Frontier have been heaved up out of this sea, and are comparatively modern. Delhi however is on an ancient bulwark.

Great changes no doubt have taken place. Some years ago it was suggested that the Brahmaputra once flowed up the valley of the Ganges and rounded the promontory of Delhi to fall into the Arabian Sea. The writer claimed that the Brahmaputra afterwards cut through into the Bay of Bengal, and the Ganges or Jumna, from being a short tributary, assumed its parent's course. Those acquainted with conditions in Bengal know that large rivers (indeed the Brahmaputra itself) have changed their junctions and courses considerably in historic times, and they are not disposed to consider the theory altogether fantastic. Possibly Indraprastha was swept away in the great disturbance, which followed this alteration.

The architecture of Delhi is naturally most interesting. The earliest features are Hindu, in ornamentation and the inclusion of sculptures of the human form, showing a high form of art in the twelfth century. The Hindu architect however had not arrived at the knowledge of the forces acting in the dome and the arch. Being Rajputs they knew of the great deposits of red and white sandstone, capable at being split up into excellent slabs, and knew of the marble deposits at Makrana. They

used these slabs to corbel out arches, or lay across corners, but the domes were formed only by plastering to a semi-spherical exterior.

Domes are a very prominent feature in both Hindu and Mahomedan architecture; it is at times doubtful whether they surmount a mosque, or a tomb, or even a Hindu temple. The two latter have each one dome, a pyramidal one in the case of the temple, but a mosque has (with very rare exceptions) three or more domes. A Hindu temple is also distinguishable by the fact that a small flag on a bamboo pole flies over it.

The early Mahomedan kings made much use of Hindu art, but by degrees sculpture was discouraged and ornamentation reduced, the monuments became sombre and stern, until the tolerance of Akbar, aided by his marriage with a Rajput princess, caused a renaissance of Hindu architecture and ornamentation, but not of sculpture. Foreign intercourse introduced the Florentine art of inlay, and all these features, which had developed at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra, were brought to Delhi by Shahjahan. This was the climax, for the decline of the Moghal power did not enable money to be spent on monuments, until the British had raised the fortunes of India to a point where a large expenditure on the building of a new Capital could be faced, and authorised by an elected Legislature. Again there has been a combination of Hindu Mahomedan ornamentation with Western architecture and town planning, but the eighth city is not yet "abad" inhabited.

## CHAPTER II.

### OLD DELHI.

*Map of the Seven Cities, page 67.*

The line of the walls of Old Delhi crosses the Kutb road near mile ten. They are twenty-eight to thirty feet in thickness, and about sixty feet in height above the ditch which surrounds them; the bastions are from sixty to a hundred feet in diameter; the intermediate towers are forty-five feet in diameter at the top, and well splayed out at the bottom. We are informed by Timur, in his Memoirs, that there used to be ten gates. From Adham Khan's tomb as a starting-point, near which is one of the smaller gates, the wall can easily be traced in a fair state of preservation, past the Ranjit (or Ghazni) Gate to the Fateh Burj at the corner, and thence to the Sohan Burj, where the high wall ends abruptly. A little beyond this was the Sohan Gate, and from about this point the ruins of a straight retrenched wall run across to Adham Khan's tomb. It has been suggested that these walls enclosed the citadel of Rai Pithora, or Prithwi Raja, the King of Delhi, who lost his life fighting against the Mahomedan invaders in 1193. We have reason to believe that the western wall was raised, and that outer defences were added to it, by the conquerors, who were determined that their foes should have greater difficulty in entering the city than they themselves had experienced.

Ala-ud-din is known to have either strengthened the defences or to have built new walls about 1310; perhaps to him may be ascribed the construction of a further length of citadel wall, which was made from the Sohan Gate, across the Kutb Road, as far as the road to Tughlukabad; most of this section has now disappeared.

The outer addition to the walls took off from the Fateh Burj of the citadel, and ran to the corner, afterwards joined to Siri by the wall of Jahanpanah; thence the wall of Old Delhi ran east, crossed the road, and was continued to the corner where the other wall of Jahanpanah afterwards joined it. In this wall, which thus divided the two cities, were three gates; close to the junction was a postern leading to the Hauz Rani, now surrounded by a grove of trees.

Between this postern and the road to Tughlukabad stood the Budaon Gate, from which, inwards, ran a street, which was the great bazar, like the Chandni Chouk of modern Delhi. In the plain, before this gate, captives were trodden to death by elephants, or put to the sword, and piles of skulls were erected here. At this gate also justice was administered. A manuscript was discovered during excavations here purporting to show that an idol captured in the sack of Bhilsa was burned here by Ala-ud-din. A great reservoir was afterwards made on this side, some two miles long by one mile wide, and this was surrounded by pleasure-gardens; the water was probably held up by the wall of Jahanpanah, which was made on an earthen embankment. The old wall extended

for some distance beyond the Tughlukabad Road, and then turned to the Jamali Masjid, and so back to Adham Khan's tomb; in this section were the two remaining gates.

Outside the city, to the west, still stand the ruins of an Idgah; all round this, as is the case on the west of modern Delhi, were numerous graves of the Mahomedan inhabitants, and of those who were slain in the frequent battles and skirmishes on the plains to the north. Within the walls once stood palaces which have disappeared. We hear of the Kasr Safed (the White Palace, perhaps of marble), where Jalal-ud-din ascended the throne, the Turquoise and Green Palaces (which may have been behind the mosque), the Black Pavilion and the Red Palace, built by Balban. These were destroyed in the sack which followed the victory of Timur.

**Kutb Minar.**—Although this is sometimes supposed to have been built as the minaret of the mosque, close to which it stands, yet it is more probable that it is a monument of Victory, to record the Mahomedan conquest. It was started by Kutb-ud-din I-bak, while he was yet viceroy of Mahomed of Ghor, whose favourite slave and general he was, and after whose death he assumed the sovereignty of India, and was independent of Mahomed's successors. Shams-ud-din Altamsh, the slave and successor of Kutb-ud-din, completed the minar, and Ala-ud-din is said to have cased it in sandstone. Firoze Shah repaired or rebuilt the two top stories, after the minar had been struck



by lightning, in 1368, and it was probably he who introduced the marble. Lightning again struck and injured the minar in the reign of Sikandar Lodi, who restored it in 1503. After that time it does not seem to have received any attention until early in the nineteenth century, when it was in a terribly dilapidated condition as the result of earthquakes in 1782, and again in 1803. In 1828, Major Robert Smith, of the Bengal Engineers, was appointed to repair this monument, and spent seventeen thousand rupees in doing so, part of which sum was wasted in making a top ornament; some five thousand rupees, in addition, were spent in the repair of the mosque and surrounding buildings. The work was well done, for an earthquake occurred in 1829, soon after the repairs were completed, but did no damage; the tower also successfully withstood the earthquake of 1905.

The tower is over 238 feet in height, but feet and inches convey little impression of height, which can best be gauged by comparison with familiar objects. It is nearly eighty feet higher than the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square; if erected on the floor of St. Paul's Cathedral, a few feet would project into the lantern of the dome.

Features worthy of notice are bands of writing around, the carved flutings, carried in varied design through three stories, and the designs of the carvings on the underside of the balconies.

The red sandstone, with which it is faced, cannot be obtained nearer than Agra. The marble in the two topmost stories was, probably, a later addition, in the time of Firoze Shah, and came

from Makrana, hundreds of miles away. These facts may give some idea of the cost of this great monument.

The top ornament, as designed by Major Smith, from the report of the villagers as to the original form, was an extraordinary structure. What remains of it is not so bad, but he put over the flat roof of the red sandstone pavilion a false dome of wood, and, surmounting this, a flagstaff, intended to fly the flag of the King of Delhi. This detail at once attracted the notice of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, and he directed the wooden part to be taken down. The octagonal stone pavilion was removed, by the orders of Lord Hardinge, in 1848; it is said that the Delhi jewellers had fashioned salt and pepper cruets in the shape of the restored minar, and had thus brought the open pavilion into some ridicule.

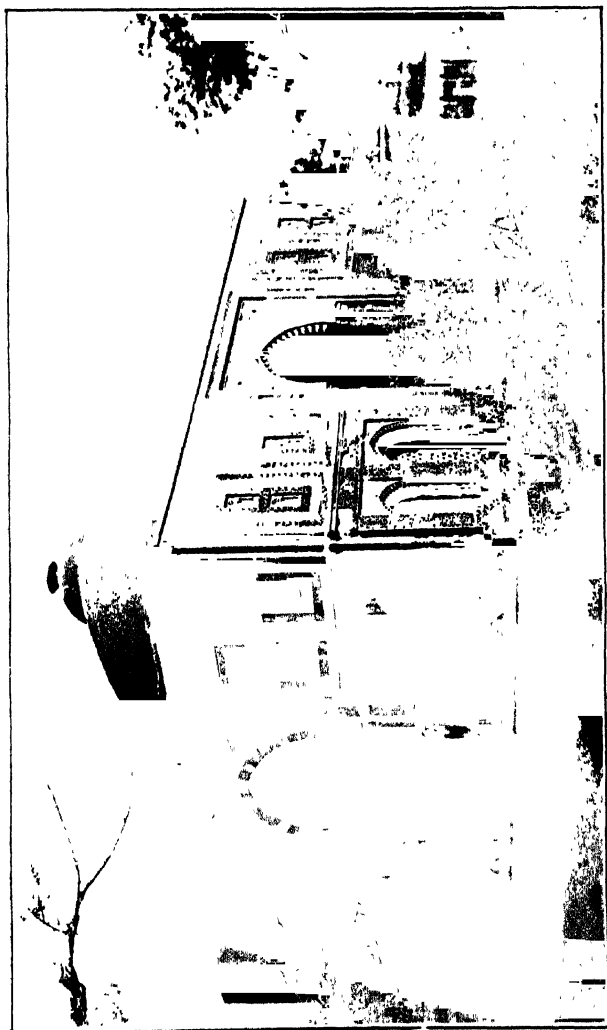
A great deal has been written in speculation as to what the original form of the top of the minar really was; there has been mention of a harp-like ornament, which one drawing seems to confirm, but this looks rather like a fanciful impression of the artist in water-colour. Major Smith, as we have seen, claimed that he had restored, rather than re-designed, the top. But it seems most probable (and a view in Daniell's "Oriental Scenery" confirms this) that there was a simple lantern and cupola, with four, or more, windows. The architecture of the period of Firoze Shah, or that of Sikandar Lodi, does not suggest anything more ambitious than this, although it is not impossible that a pavilion of Hindu

design surmounted the tower, when it was first constructed. The memory of the oldest inhabitant, at the time of Major Smith's repairs, could not, however, have extended so far back as this.

The minar is 47 feet in diameter at the bottom, and 9 feet only at the top. It is divided into five stories by four balconies, the undersides of which are most beautifully carved in a design which recalls the "stalactite" stucco arches at the Alhambra in Granada. The red sandstone balustrades were substituted by Major Smith for the battlements which once encircled each balcony. The first story is 95 feet high, with alternate semi-circular and angular flutings; the second and third stories are 51 and 41 feet in height respectively, the flutings in the one being semicircular, in the other angular; while the last two stories are 25 and 22 feet high, and have no flutings at all. Round the tower are carved mouldings, containing the names and praises of the builder, Kutb-ud-din, and of his master, Mahomed of Ghor, with texts of the Koran and the ninety-nine names of Allah, all written in the Kufic character.

The name may be derived from that of the founder, or the lofty tower may have been considered the "pole of the earth" (Kutb).

Such a magnificent monument has, of course, been claimed by the Hindus, as the work of one of their rajas. His daughter, it is said, was so pious, that each morning, before taking her food, she wished to go to the river to perform her ablutions, and, after the custom of Hindu ladies, to moisten with water her lucky neck-ornament,



GATEWAY OF ALA-UD-DIN.



composed of nine different stones. But the journey became very tedious, as the river receded, and at last the raja persuaded her to be content with a sight of the river, and therefore built this tower to enable her to do so. Mr. Beglar, assistant to Sir A. Cunningham, contended that the minar really had a Hindu origin, declaring that only Hindus, with their proficiency in mathematics, could have designed such a structure; he sought to confirm his theory by working out a series of measurements, to which indeed many of the measurements of the minar conform rather closely. Moreover, the base of the minar is at the level of the foundations of the Hindu temple which was afterwards altered into a mosque. Some of the moulded bands of stone round the minar have been deeply cut, which Mr. Beglar suggests was done after erasing some original carvings to which the Mahomedans objected. None of these arguments show that the Mahomedans did not employ Hindus to design and build the minar.

Sir A. Cunningham mentions some marks and an inscription on the south face of the plinth, indicating the plumb-line, but these have disappeared since his time, or, at least, have become very faint, and cannot be identified.

**Alai Darwaza, or Gate.**—This was the work of Ala-ud-din Khilji, in 1310, and is the entrance gate to the mosque, as enlarged by that monarch: steps lead up from a ravine, which has become much silted up. This is an example of the beautiful ornamentation, in which the early Mahomedan

rulers delighted, but which gave way later to severe designs. The blending of marble and red sandstone in the exterior decoration, the pierced screens to the windows, the diaper pattern inside, all remind one of the decoration of the palace of the Alhambra at Granada, built over a century later. But, while the Moors had to be content with stucco, the work here is in stone, and very much more effective.

In 1828 this gateway was in a sad state of decay, but it was then attended to, and the upper part of the exterior built up and plastered over; this naturally rather spoils the effect. The inside is as beautiful as ever, although some of the sandstone is flaking away with age. The diaper ornamentation ceases abruptly at the level of the commencement of the dome, but this leads the eye to notice the very effective pendentive arches by which the corners are spanned and the square building is brought to an octagonal shape: these arches are of a horseshoe form. At the angles of the octagon are brackets, which support the next course (which is circular) where it projects inwards, and thus the square is brought to a circle of a diameter of thirty-three feet. The walls are eleven feet in thickness.

**Tomb of the Imam Zamin.**—Close to the gate is the square tomb of the Imam Zamin; this dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, and was possibly copied from other tombs of similar design, which may be found on the plains within the limits of Jahanpanah.

It is interesting to notice what measures were adopted in forming the circular dome above this square building. Here the octagon is formed by lintels across the corners of the main walls, and the outside of the dome, up to the cornice, is octagonal, instead of a circular dome starting from a square roof, as in the case of the gateway. The octagon inside becomes a sixteen-sided figure in the next course, and brackets at the corners of this support the circle. This arrangement is rather a pleasing one. Other points of interest here are a western prayer-niche and the surrounding drip-stone, which is carved in the shape of prayer-carpets, arranged side by side.

The Imam Zamin was Mahomed Ali Mashadi, vulgarly called Husain "Pai Minar," or Husain who lived at the foot of the minar. He came here from Tous in Persia, resided in Delhi for many years, and died in A.D. 1537.

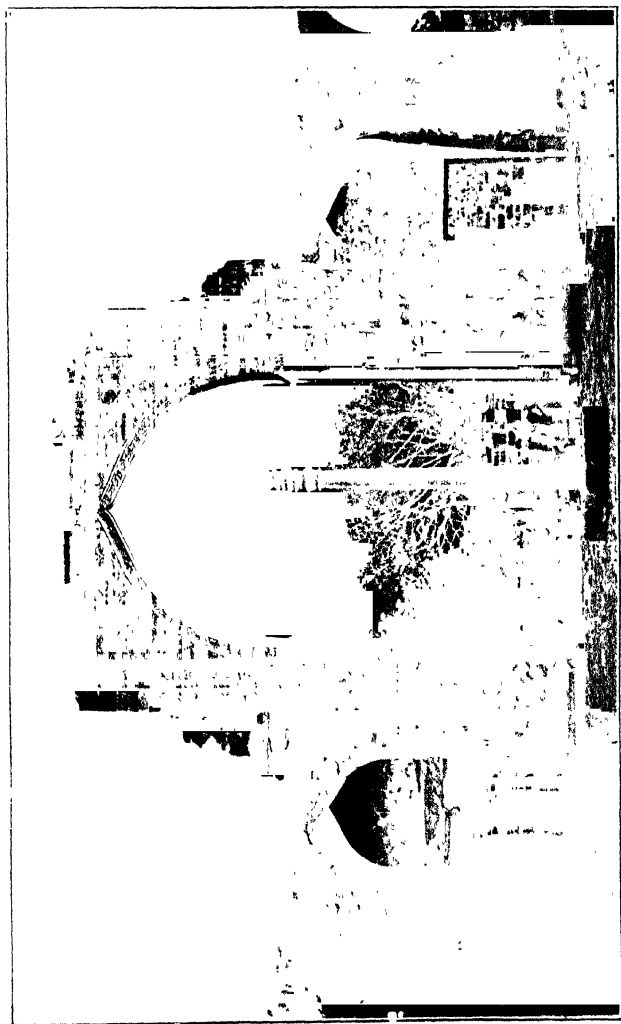
**Kuwwat-ul-Islam Mosque.**—The meaning of this name is "The Might of Islam," a fitting name for a mosque which was built by conquerors. It, quite certainly, occupies the same platform on which stood a Hindu temple, one of the twenty-seven which were despoiled by the Mahomedans of their pillars, to form the colonnades, and the mosque at the western end of the court. It is possible that the mosque was part of the original temple, but, if so, only the outer walls and the eastern steps were left in position. Carved bands run all around the platform, and the Iron Pillar rests on the original floor, overlaid by the Mahomedans with



two thicknesses of stone in the mosque and cloisters. For some unexplainable reason they laid three layers of stones in the court, which causes the drainage to run towards the cloisters—a most inconvenient arrangement.

The dome over the entrance, and the others in the colonnades, are quite different to the modern dome, which, if cut through the centre, would show bricks or cut stones, the sides of which point to a common centre. But here there is a different arrangement: each ring of stones has been placed horizontally over the top of that below it, and brought in a little in decreasing circles, the stability depending on the outer edge of the ring being adequately weighted. This idea is purely Hindu, for they did not know the principle of the ordinary arch until they were taught by their conquerors. Even they disliked it, saying that “an arch never sleeps,” thereby unconsciously repeating what was written by Paul the Silentiary. Referring to Anthemius, the architect of Santa Sophia (532-537) he wrote “He gave to the walls strength to resist the pushing arches, which were like active demons.”

These colonnades have been much admired, and justly so, but the credit for them belongs rather to the Hindus than to the Mahomedans, who merely rearranged the pillars and roofs. The pillars are well carved, although not in such relief as those at the Jain Temple of Dilwara on Mount Abu. The figures have been much damaged by the bigoted Mahomedans, but the conventionalized leopards' heads show to what ideas of art the Hindus had attained in the eleventh century (if not earlier):



*Archaeological Photo Works, Delhi.] IRON PILLAR AND GREAT ARCHES.*



there is a little picture of a cow licking her calf, while it drags at her udders, most faithful to life.

**Iron Pillar.**—The exact age of this marvellous monument is a matter for considerable speculation, but there is an inscription on it in a language not now in use, which was current between the third and sixth centuries of the Christian eras. This inscription records the erection of a pillar (but not the place or date of doing so) by a king, whose name is read Chandra, and is supposed by Vincent Smith to be Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya, who reigned about A.D. 375 and was a votary of Vishnu. It is rather curious that this Vaishnavite king flourished here, not ninety miles from Muttra, then a stronghold of Buddhism; but Buddha taught reverence to Brahmins, so that toleration was the order of those days. To Mr. James Prinsep is due the credit of deciphering this ancient inscription. There is also inscribed on the pillar the record of the building, or rebuilding, of Delhi by Anang Pal, in A.D. 1052, and some five later inscriptions of little interest. There was probably once some figure on the top of the pillar, or it may be that one of the four objects sacred to Vishnu crowned it; if so, it might be either a discus or a conch shell.

It is a mystery how the Hindus were able to forge this pillar, twenty-four feet long and weighing six tons, of a metal the purity of which is very great, or it would have rusted almost away in all these centuries. There is no deposit of iron ore in the neighbourhood. It probably was made in Orissa where, near Puri, there are to be found

similar large forgings, and an immense amount of patient work must have been necessary. It is very nearly 100 per cent. pure iron, as well as can be judged from a small sample. A dent made by a cannon-ball fired at it, so tradition says, by Ghulam Kadir, shows that the workmanship is good, for the blow was only sufficient to crack the pillar.

**Great Arches.**—There is a point of interest about these arches, which formed the facade of the mosque. The courses are horizontal, and the arch is formed by shaping the inner edges of each course; but the back of the arch shows that the idea of the true arch had begun to be explained to the Hindu masons, for some of the stones are cut so as to take a certain amount of thrust. The great ruin of these arches is probably due to their instability, although the gradual disintegration of the stone has been a contributory cause. The central arch is forty-three feet high, and was restored by the orders of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India from 1869 to 1872, in which year he fell by an assassin's hand in the Andaman Islands, the penal settlement of India, to which offenders are transported across the "Black water."

Behind the line of arches used to be the covered mosque, but only a few pillars remain, supported by various expedients; the "kiblah-gah," or place turned to at prayer, has completely disappeared, and a path runs over the site. Behind this have been excavated some turquoise-coloured tiles, and it is supposed that here stood the "Blue Palace" of an early Mahomedan king.

**Tomb of Altamsh.**—A detour to the right leads to the tomb of Shams-ud-din Altamsh, second Mahomedan king of India, who died in 1236: there is no other Mausoleum in India of earlier date. The carving of the interior is wonderful, and in very much the same style as that of the work on the great arches; it was probably carried out by the same artisans, or by their pupils. A triple prayer-niche on the west is specially beautiful, but marble cannot have been considered of great account in those days, for traces of painting are still clear on the carving at the top.

It is unfortunate that this has no roof, for then some idea could have been formed as to how far Hindu masons had progressed in forty years under the tuition of Mahomedan architects. But the pendentive arches at the corners are of the "horizontal" type, so that it seems unlikely that a dome could have been successfully attempted. The square has, however, been brought to a circle of twenty-eight feet, and several circular stones have been put in place. Some have argued from this that a dome once crowned it. Altamsh died in 1236, and troublous times followed, which may have been the cause of the work having been abandoned; had there been a dome, its fall would have injured the cenotaph of the king, which does not appear to have sustained any damage.

A close study of the interior decoration and architecture of this mausoleum will, at every step, cause renewed admiration at the whole conception of the work, the skill, and the resource of the long-

forgotten architect. The exterior is quite plain, and the walls are seven and a half feet in thickness.

**Alai Minar.**—To the north of the tomb of Altamsh are the remains of piers intended to support arches, in continuation of those previously built; the second unfinished minar was to have been the companion to the Kutb Minar, but of double the diameter, and high in proportion. The ruins of it are only so far interesting as to show how the latter was constructed.

**Tomb of Adham Khan.**—The tomb of Adham Khan stands on the line of the walls of Old Delhi. Adham Khan was a foster-brother of the Great Akbar.

The building is octagonal, with an exterior colonnade; sloping minarets buttress the corners, and are continued above. It is not in the least of the type common in the sixteenth century, when it was built, but rather belongs to the style of a hundred years previously; it may have been the tomb of one of Adham Khan's ancestors. In the thickness of the walls below the dome is a sort of labyrinth.

**Shrine of Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki.**—This is situated in the village of Mahrauli. The saint, commonly called the Kutb Sahib, came from Ush to Delhi very soon after the conquest of this place by his namesake, the general of Mahomed of Ghor; here he lived, near the Jamali Masjid, for over half a century, and died in A.D. 1235, in the reign of Altamsh, who is said himself to have performed the

funeral ceremonies. Yet his shrine remained comparatively neglected, until one Khalil-ulla Khan built an enclosure wall in 1541. We may suppose that his sanctity preserved his grave intact against marauders and the Mewatis, then Hindu, who occupy the country to the south. The name "Kaki" was given to him because he was supposed to live on small cakes of that name, which fell, like manna of old, from heaven. In Aurangzeb's time, excursions were made to this shrine from Shahjahanabad every Thursday.

The enclosure lies at the foot of the hill, on which is a "Jumping Well," and is entered by a gate, after the passing of which there appears, on the right, a long marble screen, practically hiding the shrine; this was the gift of the emperor, if he may be so styled, Farukhsiyar, in the early part of the seventeenth century. On the left is the back of the mosque of the saint, with the grave of an unimportant individual at the corner. In an adjoining court, in which there is a baoli, or open well, there are two graves of some little interest, near the steps leading down to the well. One of these is that of Zabita Khan, a Rohilla Pathan; the other is reputed to be that of his son, Ghulam Kadir, who put out the eyes of the unfortunate Shah Alam; but it does not seem likely that this is so. There is only one more grave to notice about here, that of "Dai-ji," presumably somebody's foster-mother.

On the left of the entrance-gate, as one emerges, there lies the tomb of Mohtamid Khan, historian of Aurangzeb, separated from the enclosure-wall of the shrine by a path; to the left of



this path is the entrance to the Moti Masjid, a mosque of no particular interest, built in 1709. Beyond this mosque is an enclosure, in which are buried three of the later Moghal kings—Akbar Shah II, Shah Alam, and Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, the successor of Aurangzeb. Between the graves of the two last is a space, which was destined for the body of Bahadur Shah, who lies far away in Rangoon. And this exhausts all that is of any interest. Possibly some of the graves contain the bones of men who fell on the plains, towards Safdar Jang's tomb, either in the first conquest by Kutb-ud-din, or when Timur defeated Mahomed Shah, or in repelling invaders from the north at other times.

Close by this group of buildings is the family cemetery of the nawabs of Jhajjar, the last of whom was executed for complicity in the Mutiny of 1857; his body was disposed of elsewhere.

**Shamsi Talab Mosque** otherwise Aulia Masjid, is just south of Mahrauli village. Tradition attributes its erection to three saints, of whom Kutb-ud-din Kaki was one.

**Jamali Masjid.**—This mosque is said to have been built on the platform of the dwelling of the saint Kutb-ud-din, and the whole village is said to be as old as the fort of Rai Pithora. The mosque was attached to the tomb of Shaikh Fazl-ulla, or Jamal Khan, a celebrated poet, who wrote under the nom-de-plume of Jamali, and died in A.D. 1535. His mausoleum, once his dwelling-place, is well

built, with tile ornamentation, and has two verses of the poet inscribed within.

**Tomb of Sultan Ghari.**—Some three miles to the west of Old Delhi, in Malikpur (now within the limits of Mahipalpur), is the tomb of Abul-Fateh Mahomed, son of Altamsh, who died in Bengal in A.D. 1229. The term "Sultan Ghari," given to the tomb by the common people, means the "Cave King." It is a curious octagonal structure, sunk in the middle of a raised courtyard, so that the roof is attained by a few steps only. It is possible that a second story once existed, which may have been covered by a "horizontal" dome, such as those in the Kutb Mosque. Some authorities consider the building to have been Hindu; if so, it is curious that a Mahomedan should have been buried within it. Close by are the tombs of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and of Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah, sons and successors of Altamsh; Firoze Shah records the repairing of these three tombs, the domes over the two latter having fallen.

### CHAPTER III.

#### SIRI, TUGHLUKABAD, AND JAHANPANAH.

*Map of the Seven Cities, page 67.*

Siri was built by Ala-ud-din in A.D. 1303. The site of this city is partially occupied by the village of Shahpur, but hardly anything of the walls remains, for they were removed by Sher Shah, to build the walls of his city. There remain only some low mounds, covered with trees, to the east of mile nine on the Kutb road. We know from the Memoirs of Timur that there were seven gates, of which three opened towards Jahanpanah, but we have mention in history of the name of only one, the Baghdad Gate, presumably one of those on the western side. The walls, we are told by Ibn Batuta, were seventeen feet in thickness. Inside this city there was a Palace of a Thousand Pillars, but this also has gone, and the only monument actually connected with the city which now exists is the Hauz Khas of Ala-ud-din, some distance west of Siri.

**Tughlukabad** was founded by Tughlak Shah about A.D. 1321, and must have been constructed with great rapidity, for that monarch only lived until 1325, and no work can have been done after his death. The plan shows the walls and gates: what authority, other than tradition, the compilers had for the names of the gates is not known.





This city may be approached from three sides: there is a road from the Kutb Minar; there is another from the railway-station of Tughlukabad; and there is a rough track, unmetalled and unbridged and badly maintained, which approaches the city from the small station of Okhla. By the middle course can be seen two forts which lie to the south of the city. The nearer was built by Mahomed Tughlak, and called the "City of the Just Man," an attribute to which he did not add that of "merciful." It is also called by his name.

Attention may be drawn to a few prominent objects which have escaped destruction. The citadel is entered by a small postern-gate at the head of a winding approach from the causeway. This postern shows a very fine arched roof with well-cut stones; there is no sign of a hinge to any door. Within this gate there is a reservoir, half filled with the debris of the old walls, yearly, for want of a little attention, subsiding under the effects of tropical rain. Somewhere beyond this reservoir there was the palace, while to the right of a rising footpath there is the inner citadel, part of the wall of which serves as the side of another great reservoir. The gate of this inner work has fallen, a huge column lies underfoot, and within all is ruin and confusion. At the side of the reservoir last mentioned there is a building with underground passages. From the top the eagle eye of Tughlak Shah must have often fallen on the Kutb Minar, away to the west.

It is sad indeed to see these Cyclopean walls rent asunder by pipal trees (the seeds of which

have found shelter in the crevices), disintegrated by rain and wind, and fast being levelled with the dust. The photograph shows the enormous size of the stones with which the walls of this city were built. Many of them weigh up to six tons each. They were transported probably on cradles such as are used to this day. A large beam being attached to the stone, cross-beams were tied on, and on these again were tied more cross-beams, until as many as 100 or more men could shoulder the weight. The apparatus might weigh half as much as the stone. It would be most interesting to see the citadel of this fourteenth-century city as it was; this is not impossible of attainment, for the stones have not been removed to any great extent.

**Tomb of Tughlak Shah.**—This lies about midway in the south-western side of the city, and opposite the citadel. It was built in a fortified enclosure, which was once surrounded by water, held up by a dam, thrown across the valley near Mahomedabad Fort. The Tartar was always careful to build his tomb during his lifetime, for he could never be sure of any one performing that office for him after his death; Tughlak had already built one tomb for himself in Multan. His habitual caution is shown by the fortification of a tomb built in a lake, but it is probable that he used this little fort as a summer house, and did not wish to be surprised outside the walls of his citadel.

The approach is by a causeway. The entrance to the enclosure is by a fine gateway, commanded by a bastion close by, and, even if the gate were







WALLS OF TUGHLUKABAD.

forced, it would not be easy to get in alive, for there is a sharp turn, and the steps are open to attack from above. The masonry is magnificent, the stones with which the fort is built are very massive, and many must weigh five tons apiece; the walls slope from the top, and the whole effect is one of stern grandeur, see page 143.

The interior of the fortified enclosure is raised, and is probably built above an outcrop of rock, or this may have been arranged to provide the height for the underground apartments. The shape of this fort is singularly irregular, and flanking defence was fully provided, by corner bastions. The parapet is raised, and the embrasures are rather curious, three upright stones forming two openings for fire, with a curved stone across the top to protect the head. Hindu pillars, lintels, and slabs are introduced in places, and thus break the monotony of the arcades below the parapet.

In the arcade to the left of the entrance there is a small grave, which is reputed to contain the bones of the favourite dog of Tughlak Shah; this is a wonderful tribute to that animal, for dogs are considered unclean by Mahomedans. On the south side of the work there is a place for drawing water from a shallow well sunk in the rock below. At the western corner of the pentagonal fort there have been preparations made for a tomb; this was to have been similar to one at the other corner, which contains the bones of a great minister of Tughlak Shah, and is crowned by a marble dome. The underground apartments are approached from the arcades.

The king's tomb is within the enclosure, is massive and plain, but yet effective, with panels and a band of marble to break the monotony of the red sides. The marble facing of the dome was probably the first to be attempted, and is therefore not particularly well fitted. The chief feature of the exterior is the "batter" or slope of the walls, a feature which is absent in the earlier tomb of Altamsh, or the Alai Gateway, but is characteristic of buildings of this period. Its introduction may have been due to experience of earthquakes. These walls are over eleven feet in thickness at the base and only four feet thick at the top. The interior is plain. Above the pendentives to the dome, which are generally similar to those of the Alai Gate, are lozenge-shaped stones instead of brackets to support the upper course of the development of the circle, thirty-four feet in diameter.

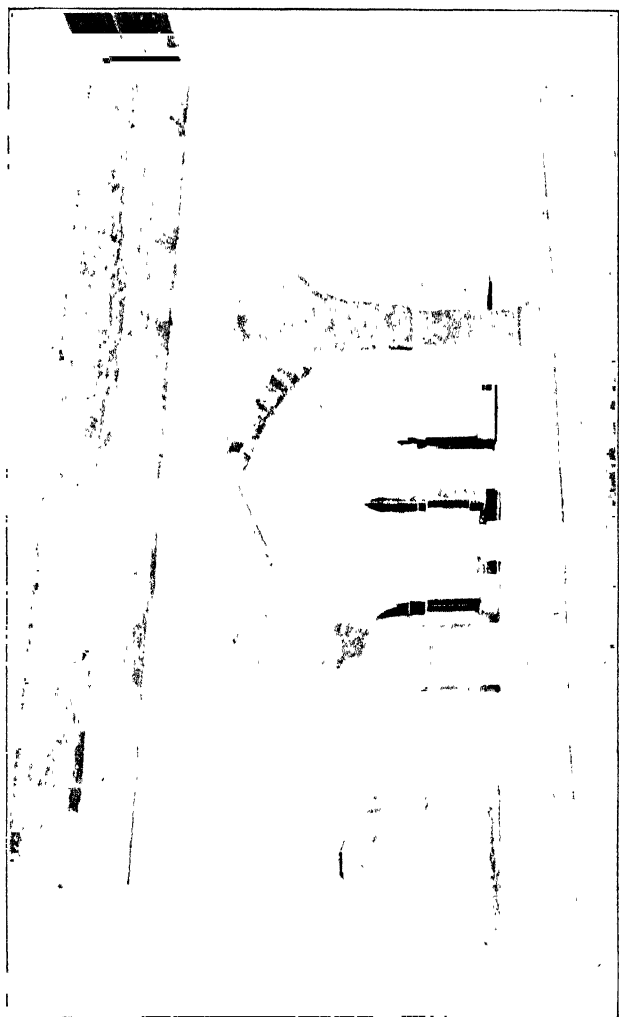
There are three graves inside—those of the founder, his wife, and son Mahomed ibn Tughlak.

The walls of **Jahanpanah** were constructed, about A.D. 1328, by Mahomed Tughlak. There were six gates in the western wall, and seven in the eastern, but the name of one only survives, the Maidan Gate on the west, near an old Idgah. The walls of this city also were removed by Sher Shāh.

**Sat Palah.**—In the wall of Jahanpanah to the east of the village of Khirki there is a double-storied "regulator," of seven openings in each tier, through which were drawn off, from time to time, the waters



KHIRKI MOSQUE



of the lake, which was held up by the wall. The date of the erection of this was A.D. 1326, in the reign of Mahomed, son of Tughlak Shāh.

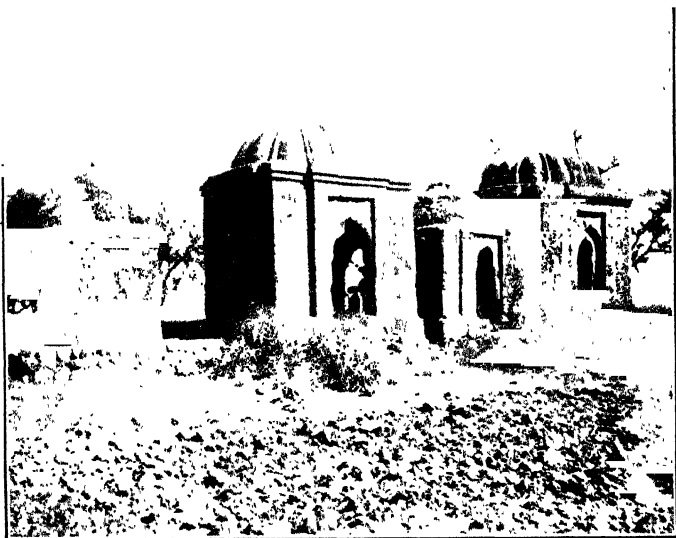
**Khirkī Mosque.**—The village of Khirkī lies just within the south-eastern wall of Jahanpanah. The mosque was erected about A.D. 1380. In plan it is square, and within the surrounding wall there is a colonnade; but the interior, instead of being left open, like other mosques of the time, has arcades in the shape of a cross: four open courts are thus left. The roofs are supported by massive monolithic columns, which are the feature of mosque architecture of the period, but they are differently disposed. At each corner of the four open courts four columns are grouped together, and along the sides of the courts there are double columns, while the roofs of the surrounding arcades are supported, sometimes by single, sometimes by double columns, but all symmetrically arranged. The small sections thus formed are covered in by low vaults, but at each intersection of the arcades there are groups of nine domes rising from the flat roof; there being nine such intersections, there are eighty-one domes, and the total is made up to eighty-five by the addition of four domes, one over each of the three entrance-gateways and the fourth over the prayer-niche to the west. The gateways and prayer-niche are flanked by sloping towers, similar to those at the Kalan Mosque. The windows in the outer walls are closed by heavy sandstone grilles. Hindu architecture

is represented by heavy door lintels, and by the dripstones around the courts supported by lintels, on brackets, also shown in the illustration.

**Tomb of Shaikh Yusuf Katal**—disciple of Kazi Jalal-ud-din, Lahori. This lies just north of the village of Khirki, and dates from somewhere about A.D. 1500. It is a little pavilion with a dome supported by twelve pillars, which are filled in between by pierced red sandstone screens. It may have been taken as a pattern for the tomb of the Imam Zamin, near the Alai Gate, under the Kutb Minar. The drip-stones are carved to represent tiles, and encaustic tiling brightens the cornice round the dome. A ruined little mosque stands close by. From here a good view is obtained of the walled enclosure of Roshan Chirāgh Delhi.

**Tomb of Kabir-ud-din Aulia.**—This building, of red sandstone, with marble decoration and sloping walls, resembles the tomb of Tughlak Shah; it stands a little to the north-west of the last-described building, and contains the remains of the son of Yusuf Katal. It is called the “Lal Gumbaz,” or red dome.

Not far off, there is a small object which looks like a chance rearrangement of some stone pillars which had been found lying about; on the top is a stone, shaped somewhat like the half of a pumpkin. Below ground is a cell, only three feet wide, and almost filled up with soil. This is declared to have been the abode, below by day, and above by night, of Kabir-ud-din Aulia, who is buried in the Lal



SATI MONUMENTS NEAR TUGHLUKABAD.



MOSQUE AND TOMB OF YUSUF KATAL.





Gumbaz. Hard by there is a well, which bears the date of A.D. 1410.

. To the north and east of this may be traced the ruins of the walls of Siri, and trees, half hidden, to the north, mark the village of Shahpur. The wall of Jahanpanah ran outside the enclosure of Roshan Chirāgh Delhi.

**Tomb of Bahlol Lodi.**—About half a mile to the eastward of the tomb of Kabir-ud-din Aulia there is a mausoleum, built in the same style as that of Yusuf Katal; close to this is the rather roughly built tomb of the first of the Lodi dynasty, who died in 1488. It has twelve doors, and five domes, and was probably the summer-house of the king during his lifetime. The garden round it has perished, but water to irrigate it must once have flowed in the deep and sandy ravine, on the farther bank of which is the enclosure of Roshan Chirāgh Delhi. Babar, in his Memoirs, mentions having visited the garden. Around the mausoleum there is now an extensive cemetery.

**Roshan Chirāgh Delhi.**—This was the name given to one Nasir-ud-din Mahomed, disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, and successor of that saint. He died in 1356; his shrine was built by Firoze Shah in 1374, just within the eastern wall of Jahanpanah. The enclosure-wall was added by Mahomed Shah in 1729. The shrine resembles that of his master.

**Begampur Masjid.**—A cross-country path skirts the village of Begampur, which contains two

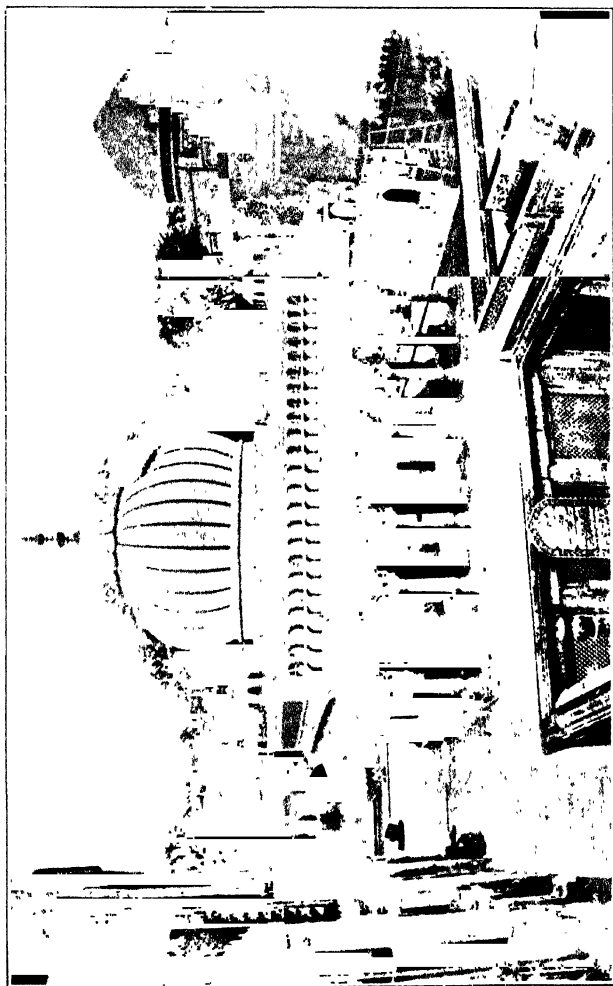
mosques, the larger of which takes its name from the village, and was built about the same time as those at Khirki and in Firozabad. Both mosques have numerous domes on the vaulted roofs. In the village there is also the Kalu Sarai.

**Bedi Mandal.**—The use of this building, which is close to Begampur on the west, cannot be stated exactly. It consists of a small room, with sloping exterior walls, on a high mound, which was once faced with masonry, and was built, most probably, in the reign of Mahomed Tughlak; Hindus, however, consider that it has a much greater antiquity. It may have been used as a watch-tower, or have formed part of the Palace of a Thousand Pillars; or, again, it may have been the building into the foundation of which history relates that many Moghal skulls were built, and have been a tower of Victory. But this is only speculation.

**Shrine of Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Aulia,** called Sultan-ul-Mushaikh, King of Saints. This group of buildings belongs to the time when Siri and Tughlukabad were being built, and is in the environs of the former. If, however, the Jumna main stream then flowed in the old bed to the west, it may have been built on an island or even on the east bank.

In 1303 a great horde of Moghals, under Tarma Shirin, invested Delhi for some months, but suddenly broke up their camp, and retired. It was supposed that this was due to the efficacy of the prayers of this saint. He was the disciple of one





SHRINE OF KHAWAJA NIZAM-UD-DIN.

JAMAT KHANA

TOMBSTONE OF

TOMB OF

Farid-ud-din, who was a disciple of Kutb-ud-din, who, in his turn, was the disciple of the famous saint of Ajmere, Muin-ud-din Chisti; his claim to saintliness was, therefore, a strong one. In these days, he is considered the greatest of them all. His differences with Tughlak Shah have already been mentioned; when Nizam-ud-din heard that the king was coming to chastise him, he calmly said, "Dilli hinoz dur ast" ("Delhi is yet a long way off")—words which have become a proverb, for Tughlak (it is said) did not reach Delhi before the death of the saint. General Sleeman, the great authority on the Thugs and principal exterminator of that garotting sect mentions as a significant fact, that Thugs, both Hindu and Mahomedan, worshipped at this shrine. The descendants of the sister of Khwaja Nizam-ud-din are guardians of the shrine to this day, and are at all times exceedingly courteous; one of the family sheltered a number of European refugees from massacre in Delhi in 1857.

The exterior is not prepossessing and inside is a dark-plastered reservoir of green water, flanked by old tombs. But, after passing through tortuous, dusty passages, there breaks on the view a very different picture. In front is the Dargah, or shrine. The square, domed, marble shrine, beautiful both outside and in, has been embellished by gifts from many generous Mahomedans and kings and nobles, a special feature being a canopy over the grave, inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The grave is, as usual, covered with a pall, there is a prayer-niche, and the pierced marble screens, if not so beautiful

as those in the tomb of Salim Chisti, at Fatehpur Sikri, are elegant and costly.

The date of the death of the saint is given on the front of the Jamat-khana Mosque close by on the west, as A.D. 1325. This mosque was built by Firoze Shah in 1353; the centre dome of the five is no less than fifty-two feet in diameter, by far the biggest dome of that period.

**Jahanara Begam.**—Near by there are three marble enclosures; the first is that of Jahanara Begam, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan. This princess is one of the attractive personages of Indian history. She was a firm supporter of her eldest brother, Dara Shikoh—certainly a more attractive character than “that nimazi” (“that bigot”), as he called his brother Aurangzeb, who put him to death. Jahanara shared the captivity of her old deposed father until his death, and then came to Delhi, was received with favour by her brother, the Emperor Aurangzeb, being entitled “Badshah Begam,” lived here fifteen years, and died in 1681. She was never married owing to a decree of Akbar that no daughter of the royal house should be given in marriage.

The full text of the inscription on her headstone runs as follows:—

“Except (with) grass and green things let not my tomb be covered; for grass is all-sufficient pall for the graves of the poor. The fakir, the transitory one, Jahanara Begam, disciple of the saintly family of Chisti, daughter of Shah Jahan, may God illumine his intentions.”

It will be remembered that the Emperor Akbar regarded Salim Chisti of Sikri with great respect, even naming his eldest son after him. Salim Chisti also was a spiritual descendant of Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmere. The other graves in this enclosure are those of Moghal princelings.

In the next enclosure lies Mahomed Shah, in whose reign India was invaded by Nadir Shah. The victor's son received in marriage one of the King's relatives, but she died in childbirth, and, with her baby, lies here. The marble doors of the enclosure are carved in relief.

In the third enclosure was buried the son of Akbar the Second, Mirza Jahangir, who, for firing a pistol at the British Resident, was banished to Allahabad. There he died, in 1821. The grave-stone of the prince is shaped on the top like that of a woman, for that of a man should have a raised pen-box; the explanation of this is, that this stone had already been carved for the grave of some lady, but was thought otherwise very suitable, and a pen-box was fashioned of plaster, which has now disintegrated. The tomb was completed in 1824.

In another court are some fine old trees, said to be as old as the shrine itself. Here is the grave of a famous poet, Abul Hassan, or Amir Khusrau, a friend of the saint. Amir Khusrau flourished in the latter half of the 13th century and died soon after his friend. His nursery rhymes are still sung in Upper India by Hindu and Mahomedan maidens alike; he wrote a metrical lexicon of "Raikhta," a



mixed language which was the fore-runner of Urdu. The other graves are of little importance, although said to include that of Khondamir, a historian, but this cannot be identified.

**Tomb of Shams-ud-din Mahomed, Ghaznavi, Taga (or Atkah) Khan, Azam Khan.**—When Humayun was defeated at Kanauj, by Sher Khan, he escaped across the Ganges, but would have been drowned had not a soldier extended a hand to him and saved him; that soldier was the noble who here lies buried. He accompanied Humayun throughout his wanderings, and his wife Jiji Anagah was one of the foster-mothers of Akbar; consequently that emperor held him in high esteem. Akbar appointed Shams-ud-din Chancellor of the Empire. After the latter was murdered by Adham Khan, Akbar continued his favour to the sons and relatives of this noble, who were known, by the jealous, as the "tribe of foster-brothers."

The mausoleum is decorated, both outside and in, with plaster and mosaic, and the floor is laid with black-and-white marble stars; marble appears in much of the other decoration, and the dome is overlaid with the same material. There are three graves within, those of Shams-ud-din, his wife, and his brother.

The mausoleum was erected by his son, Mirzā Aziz Kokaltash, governor of several provinces under Akbar; he also built a marble "Chausath Khamba," or Hall of Sixty-four pillars, which is close by, and where he himself is buried. His

gravestone is near the entrance gate; it is of marble, all in one piece, and valued at Rs. 2,000. The whole building, pillars, roofs, and screens, is of marble.



## CHAPTER IV.

### FIROZABAD AND THE DELHI OF SHER SHAH.

*Map of the Seven Cities, page 67.*

The limits of the city of Firozabad, founded in 1354, are extremely difficult to trace, because the city of Shahjahanabad was built at such a short distance, as to make it easier for the inhabitants to pillage the building materials of the older city than to quarry them from the Ridge. A part of the older city was included within the new, but the greater part was abandoned.

Roughly speaking, the city extended over a semicircle, with a radius of a mile and a half from the centre of the Kotila on the river-bank. Starting from this point, the edge of the houses ran along Dariaganj, and then across to the end of the Chandni Chouk, then along the Chandni Chouk, to about where the Lahore Gate was afterwards built. There could hardly have been houses to the north of this street, for most of that part is open, even to this day. The limiting line then trended south, between the Kadam Sharif and the later walls. This part of the city was probably rather sparsely inhabited, up to the great ravine; beyond that there was a thickly populated portion, which lay between the present city walls and the Purana Kila. But round the Ridge there was a considerable suburb, adjoining the hunting-park of the emperor,

which was surrounded by a high wall, of which no trace remains.

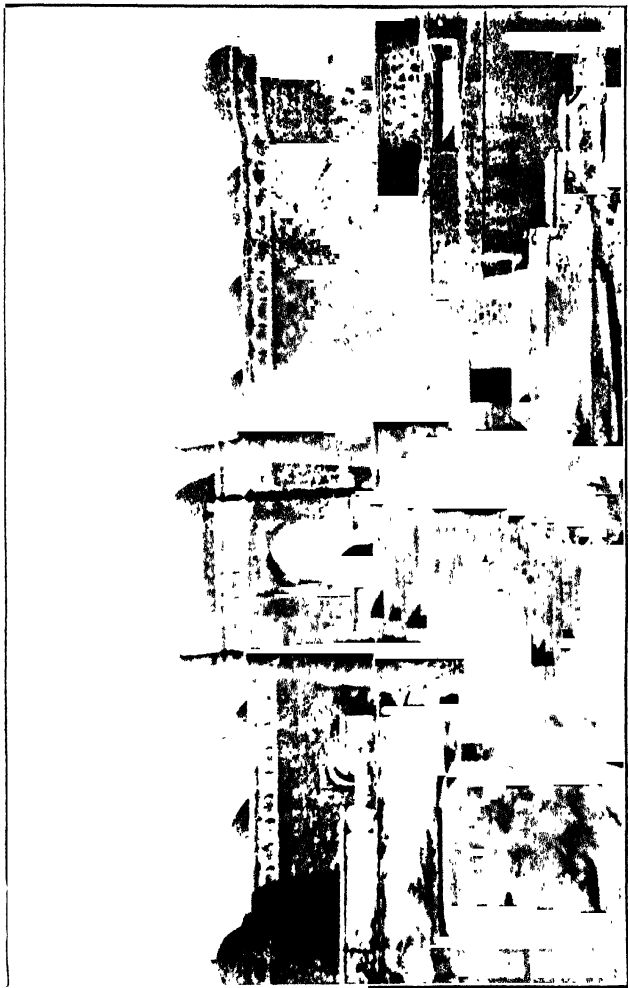
Tradition says that the channel through the Faiz Bazar in Dariaganj formed a part of the canal of Firoze Shah, which he made to bring water into Delhi, and its further course probably was through the present Fort to a head on the river. The canal of Ali Mardan Khan was a later one, and an extension of Firoze Shah's canal to Hissar.

It seems probable that the city of Firoze Shah had no walls. On the riverside, outside the Kotila, there was no necessity for one, and Shah Jahan did not build a wall on the riverside of his later city in 1648. The remains of the "Khuni Darwaza," in the Chandni Chouk, may perhaps mark the site of an old gate, but this is doubtful. On the southern side, the great ravine would make a continuous wall difficult to build, and, had one existed, we should expect to find the upper part of this ravine filled up, which is not the case. So we may consider Firozabad to have been a collection of suburbs, with no containing wall, Firoze Shah having only concerned himself to build a wall round his Kotila and round his hunting-park. Had there been the materials for a wall, it is not likely that Sher Shah would have despoiled Siri and Jahanpanah of their walls, in order to surround his city and raise the walls of the Purana Kila. Again, it does not seem to have been a matter of difficulty to occupy Firozabad; fighting frequently took place in the streets; kings, when they were threatened, preferred to shut themselves up in Siri, Jahanpanah,

and Delhi. All this goes to show that Firozabad was not a walled city.

If we accept the fact that Firozabad had no city walls, we can quite understand why Sher Shah should wish to build defensive walls for his city. He chose that portion of Firozabad which lay contiguous to the Purana Kila; but how much of his walls he was able to complete is very doubtful, for his reign was a short one. His son Islam was not much at Delhi during his troublous reign, but the work commenced by his father may have steadily proceeded, in spite of the attention devoted to the new fort of Salimgarh. On the whole, however, we may suppose that the city wall was never completed.

As designed, the city was probably intended to have the Kotila of Firoze Shah at the north-eastern corner, and the Purana Kila at the south-eastern corner. If houses then extended as far as Humayun's tomb, they would have been left in an unprotected suburb, for the walls standing opposite the Purana Kila must be part of the city wall. William Finch, who visited Delhi in 1611, about sixty years after the building of Sher Shah's city, and thirty years before the walls of Shahjahanabad were started, says, "The city is two *kos* between gate and gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate." Further he says, "About two *kos* without Delhi is the remainder of an ancient mole (mahal), or hunting-house, built by Sultan Berusá (Firoze)." The distance



KALAN MASJID.



from the Ridge to (say) Humayun's tomb is 6 miles instead of eight miles, or four modern *kos* but Finch's idea of a *kos* was one and a half miles. He made eighty-one *kos* from Agrà to Delhi Sher-shahi, a distance of less than a hundred and twenty miles. If we accept his *kos* as being a mile and a half, we have to place the south gate at the Arab Sarai, near Humayun's tomb, the north being the solitary gateway, which is near the jail, but this is a mile longer than is likely. The *kos* minar shown on the map was probably erected by Jahangir at a later date. These minars extended all the way to Agra and many are still standing.

**Kalan Masjid.**—This mosque stands near the Turkman Gate, within the walls of the modern city, but was also included within the limits of Firozabad; the word "kalan" means "great," but the word has been corrupted, and the building is sometimes called the "Black" Mosque. The style is the same as that of the Khirki Mosque, built at about the same time, 1386, but has a single open court. The sloping exterior of the walls, the tapering towers, the massive columns of quartzite, the rough nature of the arches, the stones of which are not dressed to fit but depend for their stability on the strength of the mortar, all these features are characteristic of the period. Hindu architecture also had its influence, for stone lintels are common, and the drip-stones are supported by lintels on brackets. There are fifteen low domes over the mosque proper, arranged in three rows, and the same number cover the arcades.



All are true horseshoe arches, which were prevalent before the bulbous dome came into fashion in the time of Shah Jahan.

**Kotila of Firoze Shah.**—This is outside the Delhi Gate of Shahjahanabad. Only a few fragments of the surrounding walls still stand; the masonry is of a very rough type, and the local quartzite is used. The rooms must have been dark and inconvenient; the vaulted roofs depend on the mortar for their stability.

The buildings within the stronghold have fallen into ruin, and it is difficult to trace the uses to which they were put; a few still stand, noteworthy among which are the building on which was set up the Pillar of Asoka; the Jama Masjid; a circular building with a number of underground rooms; and some ruins which are supposed to have comprised the emperor's palace. There is a tradition that underground passages extend from this citadel to the Ridge, and also to Old Delhi, but this is improbable, although a Jesuit Father in Calcutta wrote on the subject a few years ago. That one ran along the riverside through the palace is not so unlikely.

The modern jail is built round the house of Farid Khan Jahangiri, Murtaza Khan, which was built in 1608.

**Pillar of Asoka.**—This was brought here by Firoze Shah in 1357 from its first site near the Siwalik Hills. There is a drawing extant, which shows the three-storied building on which this



ASHOKA PILLAR.



pillar is set up to have been faced with red sandstone, but this may be imaginary. Formerly there was a black-and-white pavilion surrounding the pillar, which was surmounted by a golden ball and by a spike or crescent of the same metal; these were in place in 1611.

The reign of Asoka was from B.C. 272—232, and therefore the pillar is about 2,200 years old. The inscriptions on the pillar are in four compartments at the four cardinal points, and also around the lower part. They form a collection of edicts, couched in rather egotistic language, which were given in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth years of his reign, after his conversion to Buddhism; they mention other edicts issued in the thirteenth year of his reign. He calls himself Devanampiya Piyadasi, (each of which names means "beloved of the gods"), preaches (but in a spirit of practical exhortation) the doctrine of piety and reverence to all, and of kindness to animals, prohibiting the slaughter of all, which are not eaten by man, (he himself entirely abstained from meat at that time). To prisoners under sentence of death he accords three days of respite in the hope that they may use it for pious meditation and self-examination.

From one of his sentences it would appear that polygamy was a practice among kings at that time. He also records the planting of trees on all roads, the digging of wells at every mile, and the erection of sarais, for the benefit of travellers. Many subsequent kings in their memoirs take to themselves the credit for similar acts.

**Jama Masjid.**—This stands close to the pillar, and is said to have been connected to the building on which the latter stands by a bridge. The unevenness of the ground caused the builders of the mosque to make a lower story beneath the mosque. The gateway is on the north side, for the river was then so close that an entrance from the eastern side, as is usual, was difficult to contrive; access was also given by staircases from the lower story.

Timur was much struck by the beauty of this mosque when he saw it in 1398, forty-four years after it was built. He carried away with him a number of masons, and erected afterwards, in Samarkand, a mosque which was adapted from the design of this one. It had four hundred and eighty pillars of hewn stone, with vaulted roofs, and at each corner there was a lofty minaret; the doors were of brass, and the walls and domes were decorated with inscriptions, including the eighteenth chapter of the Koran.

We may presume that this mosque was of similar design, and Captain Francklin, who saw this mosque in 1793, bears this out. He describes it as having four cloisters, the domed roofs of which were supported by two hundred and sixty stone columns, each about sixteen feet high. There was an octangular dome of brick and stone in the centre of the mosque, and about twenty-five feet high. One account calls this the "Marble Mosque," but very little of that material can have been employed.

Hardly three walls of the building remain entire; the pillars have been removed, and there is

strong suspicion that some were built into the bastions of modern Delhi by British engineers. The sandstone grilles which filled the window-openings have also gone, and only the shell of a fine building remains.

**Kushk Anwar, or Mehndian.**—Across the road, on a rising ground, and near the jail, there stood a palace of Firoze Shah, of this name. It is probably this group of buildings which is depicted in one of the plates of Daniell's "Oriental Scenery." There was a central building, with a many-roomed lower story, and above this a domed pavilion, with twelve monolithic pillars; at the four corners of the main building, but separated from it, there were towers of peculiar shape, like the little paper towers (Mehndian) which are made on the occasion of a certain festival. These towers had, on the top, little pavilions, each consisting of four pillars, lintels, and a pyramidal roof.

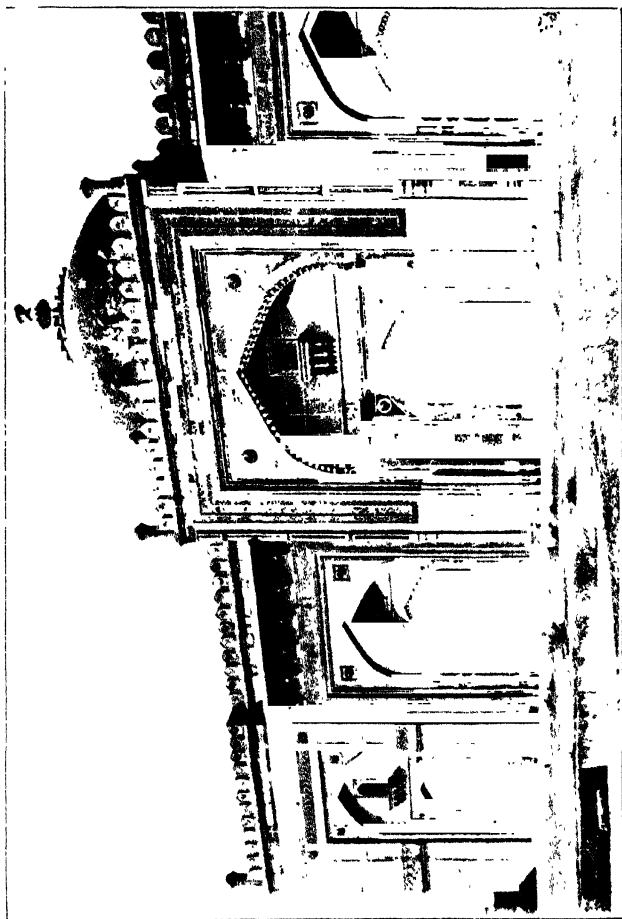
**Purana Kila, or Indarpat.**—The Hindu tradition of the antiquity of this fort has been mentioned. It was founded by Humayun, in 1534, but the walls were built of stone and mud, and the son of Sher Shah, Islam, pulled them down soon afterwards, to rebuild them in lime. Only the main gate is used now, there being a tradition that the northern (Talaqi) gate was closed by some king, who ordered it to be shut behind him as he went out to battle, and never to be reopened unless he returned victorious. There is another gate in the south-east wall.

The modern road, which leads to the gate, passes, at some distance on the right, a fortified enclosure, said to have been the residence of Humayun's barber, but possibly a palace of that monarch himself. Between this enclosure and the old fort there stands a pillar, one of the "*Kos minars*" or two-mile stones, on the old imperial Delhi-Agra road.

Opposite a turning, which leads to the fort, is a mosque in a cloistered enclosure, attributed to Maham Jiji Anagah, one of the foster-mothers of Akbar; she founded a college here. A red gate and battlements near by indicate the southern limits of the city of Sher Shah, built about 1541.

The entrance gate of the "*Purana Kila*" is very fine, with varied decoration of black and yellow stone among the red. There is a slit over the gate, suggestive of boiling oil or molten lead, and tiles adorn the balconies above. The interior of the walls is filled with squalid houses.

**Kila Kona Mosque.**—There is no date on this mosque, but it is agreed that it is the work of Sher Shah; it must have been built about 1541. It differs from any built before it, and is much more ornate. It has three-storied corner-towers at the back, which is not, as in earlier mosques, left plain, but the bare wall is ornamented by a band of tiling and by some balconies, also decorated with tiles. On either side of the projecting "*kiblahgah*," moreover, there are sloping towers of the style of the period of Firoze Shah. On the front of the mosque there is an effective decoration, containing such



KILA KONA MOSQUE.





features as engrailed arches (like those at the Alai Gateway), Hindu drip-stones supported by brackets, and a combination of black and white stone, "sang mousa," and "sang marmar." The interior presents a variety in the corbelled pendentives, which is repeated in the great mosque of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. Altogether, this mosque shows a great advance in architecture, and yet we can trace the influence of earlier styles in attaining such a pleasing result. The mosque has only one dome remaining out of three. The earthquake of 1905 cracked the southern wall.

Not far from the Kila Kona Mosque is an octagonal, three-storied, red sandstone building called the "Sher Mandal," built by Sher Shah, for an unknown purpose, but used by Humayun as a library. Here the latter met his death, by falling down the steep stairs.

Outside the gate of the fort, near a large tree, is a platform, close to the old road, and on this Hodson is said to have made the three captive princes stand when he shot them, in 1857.

**Humayun's Tomb.**—From a junction of the road from Safdar Jang's tomb with the Muttra Road, a short road leads to the tomb of Humayun, passing on the way the mausoleum of Isa Khan. This building is a little more elaborate than that of Adham Khan, and rather similar to the tomb of Mubarik Shah; it has pavilions on the roof. Isa Khan was a noble of Sher Shah's time, about the middle of the sixteenth century. Then the road skirts a garden, on the walls of which are pavilions

decorated with encaustic tiling, and crosses the old Moghal Road, which ran through the gate of the Arab Sarai, and may be traced towards the north. The Arab Sarai was built by Akbar's mother, in 1560, for three hundred Arabs, whom she may have brought back from Mecca.

The walled enclosure of Humayun's tomb has two entrances, one to the west, the other on the south; but the former is the principal one. It may be noted that the mosque, usual accompaniment of a tomb, was omitted. The mausoleum itself, while it cannot pretend to the delicate, ever-varying beauty of the tomb of Taj Mahal, at Agra, is yet no mean receptacle for the bones of a king, whose life was rather spent in war than in peace. It must be remembered that the country had hardly been settled, and that the fame of the "Great Moghul" had not then attracted European artists. The ground plan, a square with an irregular octagon at each corner, may have served as a model for the designer of "the Taj;" the general plan of that building differs only in having regular octagons at the corners. Of course, the material and workmanship there are magnificent, while here both are rough, but then Humayun's tomb is that of a man. The dome has a constricted neck, fore-shadowing the bulbous domes of a later fashion, but it is formed in the old style. The copper pinnacle is 140 feet above the level of the terrace.

On the left of the steps, which lead up to the platform from the western side, is a marble grave, which holds the decapitated body of Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan, defeated by Aurangzeb.

and murdered not far from here by his orders. Elsewhere on the platform, and in the rooms of a lower story, are the graves of many scions of the House of Timur, also Aurangzeb's son Sultan Mahomed poisoned in 1676-77. And here were captured the last king, and his three descendants, who were shot by Hodson.

Across the river a grove of trees marks Patparganj, between which and modern Delhi was fought, in 1803, a decisive battle by Lord Lake against the Mahrattas, then in possession of the imperial city. Their total defeat ended in the first entry of British soldiers into Delhi, on the 14th of September—a date coinciding with that of the assault in 1857.

Two small tombs lie towards the south-east; one has a blue-tiled dome, and is said to contain the bones of one Fahim Khan, servant of Abdurrahim, Khan Khanan, 1624, or of Naubat Khan, Akbari, 1565. The other, of red sandstone, is reputed to be the tomb of a favourite barber of Humayun. A massive tomb, to the south-west, is that of the Khan Khanan, son of Bahram Khan, Akbar's great general and minister, also a Sanscrit scholar and poet, who died in 1626. The marble, which once covered the dome of this tomb, was sold to Asaf-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh, by Shah Alam, for the sum of Rs. 25,000.

The upper floor of Humayun's tomb is practically level with the terrace; the real grave, as usual, is below, a cenotaph being placed on the floor above to indicate the position. In 1611, the floor was covered with rich carpets, and a magnificent

ceiling cloth was suspended over the cenotaph. Beside copies of the Koran, on reading-stands, were still kept the bow and quiver, sword, dagger, lance and musket, and shoes of the monarch, who had died in 1556. All these relics have disappeared, and whitewash has disfigured the interior.

**Tomb of Mahomed Shah.**—Close to the road which runs from Humayun's tomb to Safdar Jang's tomb, and not far from the village of Khairpur, stands a tomb which attracted the attention and admiration of Fergusson, the writer of a standard work on architecture. It contains the remains of the third king of the Sayyad dynasty, who died in 1450. The shape is octagonal, with an exterior arcade, the columns of which contain massive grey monoliths, such as are characteristic of the period of Firoze Shah. The columns, which are at the angles of the arcade, are buttressed, and the "pendentives" of the small domes above the arcade are similar to those in the tomb of Altamsh and in the Alai Gateway. Round the interior of the main dome there is a cornice, decorated in a manner which indicates the style of the former decoration of the whole of the interior of the mausoleum.

**Gateway and Mosque of Khairpur.**—A few hundred yards from the tomb of Mahomed Shah, in the village of Khairpur, there stands a building with a lofty dome. This is generally supposed to have been the entrance to the adjoining mosque, although there is another entrance which has been closed up. It may have been a mausoleum, but there is now no grave within it. The dome is a

fine one; the walls of the building are not buttressed, as one might have expected in a building erected at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The exterior of the doorways is decorated with black and red stone, after the fashion which was afterwards adopted for the gateway of the Purana Kila. The interior is dark and stern, and impressive; the pendentives, although similar to those of the Alai Gate, are formed as true arches, and niches above give to the dome its great height. Lastly, the heavy lintels and brackets, some of which are very fine, show the influence of the earlier Hindu style.

The mosque is of massive masonry, with the buttresses and sloping corner-towers, which are characteristic of earlier times. The plaster decoration on the arches, and inside, is picked out with paint; an inscription announces the building of the mosque in the time of Sikandar Lodi, about 1500.

**Tomb of Ibrahim Lodi.**—Close to the mosque there stands the tomb of this monarch, who lost his life in 1526 while attempting to stem the tide of the Moghal conquest. It is distinguished by encaustic tilework, the use of which had not long come in, and there is a prayer-niche, a feature which was dying out. From the northern window may be obtained a view of the tomb of Sikandar Lodi. This is in a walled enclosure on the banks of a ravine, which lends it additional height and an imposing appearance.

**Tomb of Sikandar Lodi.**—This combines most of the features of the adjacent buildings, with the

addition of some enamel work on the arches and on the fillings of masonry over the doors. Close by there is a bridge of seven arches, which spans a ravine, and carried the high-road from the north, or gave an approach to the gardens of Sikandar Lodi, which were about here.

**Tomb of Safdar Jang.**—This is the mausoleum of Nawab Mansur Ali Khan, commonly called Safdar Jang, Prime Minister of Ahmad Shah and nephew of Saadat Khan, who founded the House of Oudh. The title of "Safdar Jang" means "Dispenser of the battle ranks," but on more than one occasion it was his own that he dispersed, by ignominious flight.

The building follows rather the bad principle of "constructing ornament" than of "ornamenting construction;" there is a too free use of plaster. It is surmounted by a marble dome, which is bulbous and heavy. It stands on a high terrace, in an enclosed garden, and the view of it through the gateway is, like all such views, an effective one. It was the last large mausoleum to be erected near Delhi, and cost thirty thousand pounds sterling. Safdar Jang's successors were independent of Delhi, and preferred to be buried at Lucknow.

**Mujahidpur.**—On the east of the road, near the tomb of Safdar Jang, is the tomb of Mirza Najaf Khan, who died in 1782, the last brave man and good general that the declining days of the Moghal Empire knew.

**Jantar Mantar.**—This group of astronomical buildings strictly belongs to Shahjahanabad, but stands in the environs of Firozabad and within the New Capital also. Maharaja Jai Singh II of Jaipur, Viceroy of Agra and Malwa, erected a number of these observatories, others being situated at Muttra, Benares, Ujjain, and Jaipur, the city which he built to replace Amber. After comparing the results, which were obtained from observations taken at all these places, astronomical tables were constructed, which excelled in accuracy any then known, and are used in India to this day by many astrologers.

So anxious was the Maharaja to obtain real accuracy that he rejected instruments of brass, made after the pattern of some in Samarkand, because he found the wear of the bearings to be excessive. He constructed here a masonry gnomon, with a marble dial, a small altitude meter, and two round amphitheatres in which directions and heights of stars could be observed. The rustic name "Jantar Mantar" is an alliterative corruption of "Samrat Yantar."

**Kadam Sharif.**—The interpretation of this name is the "sacred footprint;" there is a slab of stone, which is supposed to bear the imprint of the foot of Mahomed, for which reason it is also known as the "Kadam Rasul," or foot of the prophet. The slab is immersed in a basin of water, on the surface of which float rose-leaves. The basin is constructed over the grave of Fateh Khan, son of Firoze Shah, and associated with him as joint



monarch; he died in 1374, and was here buried by his heart-broken father. The sacred stone had been sent by the Imam of Mecca.

The enclosure surrounding the tomb stands to the west of, and at some considerable distance from, the road, which runs from Old Delhi, to the end of the Sadr Bazar, on the west of the railway. The path to the enclosure is bordered, on either side, by thousands of graves, both old and modern, for this is the Mahomedan cemetery of modern Delhi, and all desire to rest as close as possible to the sacred slab.

The tomb itself stands in a court, which is surrounded by colonnades; the sloping roofs of these are supported by pillars in the Hindu style, while the domes are the pointed ones of the period. The covering to the grave has similar pillars, but at each corner there is a kiosk, and the central dome is a peculiar one. Opposite the steps, which lead up to the raised platform of the enclosure, is the grave of Shams-ud-din, Nawab of Ferozpur, executed for participation in the murder of Mr. William Fraser in 1835.

**Old Idgah.**—At the back of the Kadam Sharif enclosure, on the rising ground which forms the continuation of the Ridge, stands the Idgah of Ferozabad. This is the place of worship to which Mahomedans repair on the two great festivals, called Id; the one follows the fast of Ramzan, the other celebrates the intended sacrifice by Abraham of Ishmael (not of Isaac, as in the Bible). This





Idgah is within a fortified enclosure, made to protect the worshippers while at their prayers, for in the fourteenth century people were not above attacking their praying enemies.

## CHAPTER V.

### SHAHJAHANABAD.

*Map of Delhi in 1857, page 87.*

Modern Delhi is still contained within the walls of Shahjahanabad, the last of the seven cities. It was built by, and called after, the third great Moghal emperor, Shah Jahan, whose name is so well known as the builder of that magnificent mausoleum at Agra, commonly known as the "Taj Mahal." The walls, starting from the Water Bastion on the north face, run practically west for five-sixths of a mile to the Mori Bastion, and thence curve in a great arc, of a length of nearly three miles, to the river at the Wellesley Bastion. They then follow the river-bank to the Water Bastion again, their line broken by the "Fort," which lies about midway in this last face. The principal street is the famous Chandni Chouk, which runs east and west from the Lahore Gate of the Castle to the Lahore Gate of the city, with a slight detour at the Fatehpuri Masjid. This street may be said to divide the Indian quarter from the commercial portion, which includes the railway-station yards, into which no fewer than seven lines of railway now run.

The walls did not originally surround the city, which was left open on the river side. A portion of wall, however, was constructed from the Water

Bastion to about opposite the Government College, more as a protection to the adjacent houses against the river than as a defence against an enemy. The river-face of Dara Shikoh's palace (afterwards the Magazine or arsenal) also had a protecting wall. It was not until about 1811 that the city wall was extended in the bed of the river up to the moat around the palace; the wall along Dariaganj was probably built at the same time. That no wall was originally made along the river-side we know from the writings of Bernier, the French physician, in 1669, from those of Manucci, and those of Captain Francklin, who visited Delhi in 1793.

The line of the walls, as first constructed, was broken at intervals of 100 paces by round towers, one of which was exposed by the removal of the Garstin Bastion in 1904; there was a musketry parapet, but no cannon were mounted. The improvement of the defences was undertaken soon after the Mahratta siege of 1804, and the bastions, then constructed, received the names of prominent men of the time, such as Moira, Burn, Garstin, Ochterlony, and Wellesley. They mounted nine to thirteen guns each. The work was spread over several years. The curtains had a loopholed parapet eight feet high and three feet thick. A twenty-foot wide ditch with a glacis was made, many houses were removed, which nestled close up to the walls and prevented a clear field of fire, and Martello towers were constructed, which were separated from the main walls by a drawbridge, and were intended to fire into the city in case of a riot.

The Nigambodh (knowledge of the Vedas) and Kela Ghat Gates were built at this time. The Calcutta Gate was not built until 1852, when the Grand Trunk Road was brought through the Chandni Chouk; this gate was removed, within fifteen years, to admit the East Indian Railway. The Cashmere Gate was built about 1835; the Lahore Gate (since removed) was made a double gate in 1852. The other gates, except the Cabul and Mori Gates, now removed, remain as they were.

**Cashmere Gate.**—The city is entered from the "Civil Lines" on the North by the Cashmere Gate. This, originally a single gateway, was built by one of the Bengal Engineers, Major Robert Smith, in 1835, and was made into a double gateway at the beginning of 1857. It was here that the famous act of bravery—the blowing in of the gateway during the assault in September, 1857—was performed; a tablet, erected by Lord Napier of Magdala, records some of the names of those who took part. Inside this gate, there was, in 1857, an enclosure, surrounded by a case-mated wall, part of which still abuts on the ramparts; in this enclosure the main guard mounted, the officer having his quarters over what is now a police-station. It was thus necessary to pass the guard in order to enter the city. A door in the wall of the enclosure gave access to the courts and treasury.

Outside the gate is a statue of John Nicholson, with drawn sword ready to lead the assault. The mortars round the base show with what small weapons the walls were swept.

**St. James's Church.**—This was commenced in 1826, and took ten years to build, at a cost of ninety thousand rupees, provided by the munificence of Colonel James Skinner, C.B., whose descendants also have done much to improve the structure. The design is due to two officers of the Bengal Engineers. Major Robert Smith built it up to the cornice of the entablature (or top of the columns), while Captain De Bude completed the work. The dome was much damaged by shell-fire during the siege, and at least one shot went through the dome; but it was restored by 1865, and the iron rails supporting the roof were presumably then built in. There is some legend about the number of shot-holes piercing the copper ball and cross, which were taken down from the top after 1857, but the actual number seems to coincide with no number of any significance.

Two tablets to the memory of the families of Mr. Beresford (Manager of the Delhi Bank) and of a Mr. Collins, numbering together twenty-five persons, show how thoroughly the mutineers, assisted by the bad characters of the city, destroyed every Christian they could find. There were, however, merciful men in Delhi, and one woman was sheltered up to the 19th of August, on which date she was aided to escape to the British camp.

In the Churchyard is the vault of the family of Colonel James Skinner, C.B., who was at one time in the employ of the Maharaja Madhoji Scindia of Gwalior, but left him when that chief went to war with the English in 1803. Colonel Skinner



afterwards entered the Company's service, and raised a regiment of irregular horse, still known by his name. He built this Church in fulfilment of a vow, made while lying wounded on a battlefield. Some say that he also vowed to build a mosque and a temple, pointing out, as erected by him, a little mosque close to his house. But this is not so, for the mosque, called *Fakhr-ul-Musajid*, though doubtless used by the Musulmani ladies of his family for worship, was built in 1728, before his time.

To the west is the grave of Mr. Fraser, who was shot on the Ridge in 1835. The tombstone was erected by his friend, Colonel Skinner, and was of marble, surmounted by two lions, with an iron railing round; all that remains is the inscription. Just behind the grave is a marble cross, to the memory of several Europeans who were massacred, and whose bodies were found lying here. In the north-east corner is the grave of Sir John Theophilus Metcalfe, who was the joint Magistrate of Delhi in 1857, and had a narrow escape.

**Adjoining Houses.**—The houses along the river-wall at the back of the church are, perhaps, a hundred years old. That nearest the Civil Courts was known in 1845 as the house of "Smith Sahib;" it was probably occupied then by a Mr. George Henry Smith, who was collector of customs, North-West Frontier, and perhaps built the "Custom house" outside the walls. It has an extensive range of underground apartments.

In the house next to St. James's Bastion there was published, from 1833 to 1857, the "Delhi Gazette," the editor of which, in the year of the mutiny, was a Mr. Place, and the sub-editor a Mr. Wagentreiber; here also was issued the "Delhi Sketch-book, or Indian Punch," edited by the latter. The "Delhi Gazette" was a very prosperous paper with the largest circulation in India. The subscription to it was 36 rupees a year, which gave a handsome profit. Among the contributors was Herbert Edwardes who wrote, under the nom-de-guerre of "Brahminee Bull," very able articles, and was given a staff appointment in consequence by Lord Hardinge. It was through this medium that several other able men got advancement. The open ground in front of this house used to be laid out as the gardens of the Residency, which in 1857 had been converted into the Government College. It was once part of the palace of Ali Mardan Khan. The house which is nearest to the Cashniere Gate was, in 1857, occupied by a Major Fuller, Director of Public Instruction, an appointment then open to officers of the Company's army.

Opposite the church is a triangular plot of land, now enclosed, on the other side of which is a road. This, before the railway cut it off, led direct to the Chandni Chouk, and was followed by one of the columns after the assault in 1857; but the enemy mustered too strong, and drove the column back again to this neighbourhood.

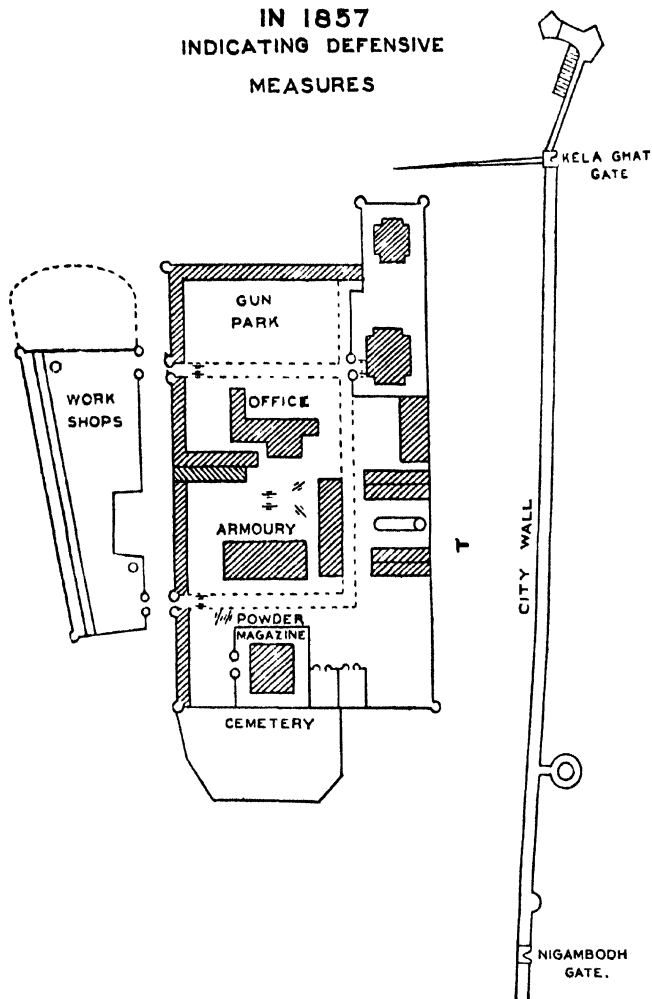
Colonel Skinner's house was afterwards the Bank of Bengal. Behind what is now St. Stephen's College there lay the house of Ahmad Ali

Khan, which has been converted into a number of small dwellings, but was occupied after the siege for some time as barracks; there are still to be seen traces of the European soldiers' tendency to scribble on the walls. Opposite here the road once took a considerable bend to avoid a house, described in 1845 as that of the Company's chief judge, but occupied in 1857 by the head master of the Government College, Mr. Roberts.

**Magazine.**—The Lothian road passes between the modern St. Stephen's College and a hostel attached to it (both in charge of the Cambridge Mission), and then runs past the Government College (once the Residency) to the "Magazine," or Arsenal, now occupied by the telegraph and post-offices. In 1857 the telegraph-office was near the Ridge, and a granite obelisk, erected outside the present one, records the pluck of two signallers, Brendish and Pilkington, mere lads, who sent to Umballa messages, which gave warning and "saved the Punjab." One gateway and a portion only of the surrounding walls remains intact. Over the gate is a tablet recording the names of the nine men, who defended the arsenal as long as they could, and eventually blew up part of it in the face of the mutineers.

The Arsenal is said to have been formed on the site of the palace of Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan. Certain underground passages, discovered some years ago, but now closed up again, indicate the existence of the usual "ty-khana," or underground apartments. The city wall here is at some distance from the river-wall of the palace,

**PLAN OF THE ARSENAL  
IN 1857  
INDICATING DEFENSIVE  
MEASURES**





at the back of the post-office enclosure. The outside of the city wall is furnished with stakes, projecting downwards, while older portions, towards the Water Bastion, are without them. Moreover, old blocks of grey stone taken from dismantled buildings are built into the base here; these also indicate the later date of this portion of the wall.

At one time a very considerable quantity of powder, shot, and shell was collected here, as well as the largest siege-train in all Northern India; but Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, when Commander-in-Chief, in 1844, objecting strongly to the proximity of these large stores to the palace, and to their location in the heart of the city, far from cantonments, proposed removing them to Meerut. The greater part of the powder and cartridges was therefore removed to a new magazine near the Ridge; but a certain amount of powder was kept here to be made up into cartridges, and sent from time to time to replenish the other magazine. A portion of the siege-train had been sent to Ferozepore on February 14th 1857, but many guns were left here. Thus the rebels, in 1857, easily became possessed of a train of guns, heavier than any the besiegers could bring against them. The present post-office building was the armoury. An old powder-magazine stands close by and the guns were parked on the opposite side to the old cemetery. Behind were two small magazines, one of which was blown up by the gallant little band of defenders.

Round the walls, which have now, except for a small portion, been removed, were "lean-to"

sheds, containing various stores; the arsenal office was where the office of the executive engineer now is. Across the road, then paved with cobblestones, and on which no one was allowed to smoke, were the workshops, the two gates of which faced the gates of the arsenal enclosure. The houses at the back of the workshops have been swept away by the railway.

**Old Cemetery.**—This lies under the south wall of the magazine; most of the graves are nameless, and an inscription on the cross in the centre of the cemetery records that this was the case in 1857 also. An exception is a grave under a canopy, which bears an inscription to say that it was erected by Colonel Skinner to the memory of one Thomas Dunn; another grave is that of a young son of Lieutenant Raynor, one of the defenders of the arsenal close by. The cemetery was closed in 1855.

**Nigambodh (knowledge of Vedas) Gate.**—Close to this gate there used to be some flour mills, driven by the canal of Ali Mardan Khan, but these mills have fallen into ruin. Through the gate the corpses of Hindus are borne to the burning-ground in the river-bed beyond. The Nigambodh Ghat lies outside the Gate, and a tradition of great antiquity is attached to it, but the ground, right up to and beyond the railway-bridge, lies too low to have escaped flooding. The site of the Calcutta Gate is not far off, and it is recorded on a small railway-bridge.

**Salimgarh.**—This old fort was built by Islam Shah in 1546; it is called the "fort of Salim," the

name by which he was usually known. It was built on an outcrop of rock, and the river then flowed east of it, but afterwards set in and filled the channel between Salimgarh and the mainland. Jahangir built a bridge to span this channel; part of this bridge afterwards joined the fort, of Shah Jahan to Salimgarh, but it was removed for the railway. The places where it abutted on the walls may still be seen. The Grand Trunk Road bridge, close by, was built in 1852, after which date the bridge of boats, previously established opposite the Rajghat Gate, was brought up to about the line of the railway-bridge, which was completed about 1864. The railway now runs through Salimgarh, and a portion of Shah Jahan's Castle has been cut off to make room for it. Little now remains of any of the buildings in Salimgarh, which was once used as a state prison: it was much damaged by the fire of guns from a battery established in the Government College gardens after the assault in 1857.

**Canal.**—Having passed under the Lothian railway-bridge, the Lothian road ascends a slope, the old river-bank. At the top is a bridge over a small canal; this, entering near the Cabul Gate, irrigates the Queen's Gardens. The water runs to waste near here, but it used to flow into the castle gardens, and through the apartments of the palace; it also drove some mills, now demolished, near the Nigambodh Gate. To the right, on now open ground which was cleared after 1857, used to be the Urdu Bazar with the post-office, and some houses belonging to Captain Manuel Vale Deremao



of Rohtak. On the left was the house of Major Abbott, 72nd N. I., afterwards the Auxiliary Force armoury. The Delhi Bank lies among trees to the right.

The old road ran to the east from the small bridge over the canal. Near the castle walls, the road crossed the old Grand Trunk Road, which, entering the city by the Calcutta Gate, passed the garden of Madho Das, traversed the Chandni Chouk, and emerged from the city by the Lahore Gate. The Calcutta Gate, built in 1852, having been removed to admit the railway, this portion of the Trunk Road has been abandoned. An avenue of trees, parallel to the castle walls, still marks the old road towards Dariaganj. Formerly there was a large tank, named after Lord Ellenborough, just above this road, and near the corner of the fort; this was filled from a branch of the canal of Ali Mardan which flowed through the Chandni Chouk. The channel has now been covered over and the water shut off, and the tank has been filled in.

**Bagicha, or Garden, of Madho Das.**—There are here temples to Sacha Narayan, Badrinath, and Radha Krishna, all of which names are titles of Vishnu, or of his incarnations. On the last-named temple is some curious work in glass, made to look like mother-of-pearl. Here also is the place where Madho Das was buried (not burnt), for this is the custom in the case of ascetics, who are of no caste; even Brahmins have their sacred string removed and burnt after their initiation.

**Golden Mosque.**—Outside the Delhi Gate of the Palace is a little mosque, with gilded minarets, built by an eunuch Jawed Khan in 1751; this escaped the general demolition of buildings round the fort, which followed the events of 1857. Somewhere near the Golden Mosque was the palace of Sadulla Khan, a great noble of Shahjahan, who died in 1656, also, possibly, that of Jahanara Begam.

**Dariaganj.**—A road runs through the Faiz Bazar from the Golden Mosque to the Delhi Gate of the city. On the east of this road there was, in 1857, a dak bungalow, and to the west of it stood a great mosque, the Akbarabadi Masjid, built by one of the wives of Shah Jahan. This mosque was swept away to give a clear field of fire from the fort.

From the Golden Mosque there runs a road to the Rajghat Gate also. About half way to the gate, there now stands a cross marking the site of the old Baptist Chapel and of the native Christian cemetery, which surrounded the chapel. The road beyond this point used to be in a cutting, but this has been filled up for military reasons, so that exit from the Rajghat Gate by wheeled vehicles is impossible. To the south of this road, and close to the city wall, are a number of small houses, one of which was, in 1857, the office of the Inland Transit Company, which had introduced in 1851 the "dak-gharry" service; since June 1845 the service had been by "palki" carriage and bullock

train. When the bridge of boats lay opposite the gate here, this situation was a convenient one for the office. The other houses along the wall were occupied by the Baptist minister, conductors, clerks, and pensioners, nearly all of whom, with their wives and families, were killed.

The Cantonment Gardens, on the right of the Rajghat Gate road, were once covered by the "lines" of the Bengal Sappers and Miners; after their removal to Roorkee, about 1852, the huts were cleared away, and the camping-ground was here. The college at Roorkee was opened in 1848, the students living in tents. Six months later the first buildings were ready, and the college was extended in 1851.

The road along the east of the gardens leads to a double-storied house, the residence, in 1857, of the Nawab of Jhajjar. Close to this is a turning into the grounds of the Indian Infantry Mess-house, once the residence of Shams-ud-din, Nawab of Firozpur, and afterwards of one Ali Baksh Khan, who made a garden in the river-bed below. Between the mess-house and the road to the Khairati Gate there is the mosque, called Zinat-ul-Masajid, the "Beauty among Mosques" built in 1710 by a daughter of Aurangzeb, who was buried in an adjoining tomb surrounded by a black-stone enclosure; she died in 1720 at a great age.

Beyond the road to the Khairati Gate is the Indian Infantry Hospital, used for the same purpose in 1857, and guarded on the day of the outbreak by the Rifle Company of the 38th Light Infantry. Next to this is a house, No. 5, the

entrance to which is rather hidden. In the garden-wall of the house are built two "bells-of-arms," belonging, in 1857, to the king's personal troops: the road then ran nearer to the house. This house bears evidence of being an old "barahdari," having twelve doors to the centre room, around which other rooms were built afterwards. It had been the residence of the Raja of Kishangarh.

In 1857 the house was occupied by a Mr. Aldwell, a Government pensioner. His son, Mr. James Skinner Aldwell, has told the story, of a stubborn defence by a small body of people in the face of a considerable body of rebel Sepoys, aided by the rabble of Delhi and several guns. After two nights of attack the odds became too great, and there was not a drop of water to be had, so the little garrison decided to escape. Only Mr. Aldwell and his son were able to do so, the remainder being taken prisoners, and shot on the edge of a ditch, which runs through the infantry lines; into this their bodies were thrown. Mrs. Aldwell and her daughters had previously been smuggled out, and were taken into the palace. Being relatives of the Skinner family they again escaped death when the other poor refugees were massacred near the court of the Nakkar Khana.

Nearly opposite this house, on a rising ground, is the former residence of the Raja of Ballabgarh. There is nothing of importance in the Faiz Bazar, on the other side of the "lines," except the canal, which is said to have been made in the days of Firoze Shah; how water was brought to it is uncertain.

**Jama Masjid.**—The road to the Jama Masjid ran past elephant stables, on the left, and through a bazar and “chouk,” all of which have been swept away, thereby opening up a splendid view of the mosque, which stands on high, erected as it is on an outcrop of rock, called the Jujula Pahar. The Jama Masjid is the cathedral mosque of India, and here on Fridays all assemble for prayer, the service on other days being attended in the parish mosques. The word “Jama” means “collected together,” or “congregation,” and must not be confused with “Juma,” which means “Friday.” The efficacy of prayers at home being counted as one, to pray in the Jama Masjid brings the reward of twenty-five prayers, while a prayer in the Kaabah at Mecca is equal to one hundred thousand. During the month of Ramzan (which varies, for the Mahomedan year is a lunar year) an enormous congregation assembles here at 1-30 p.m. on Fridays.

The mosque was commenced about 1650, and occupied five thousand workmen for the space of six years. It was built by Saadulla Khan and Khalilullah Khan, costing 10 lakhs. The courtyard measures as much as four hundred feet each way, and the minarets are a hundred and thirty feet high; altogether, the building is of noble dimensions. The northern minaret was struck by lightning, but was repaired about 1817.

In the centre of the courtyard is an ablutionary tank; the covered mosque proper, with its three bulbous domes, lies along the western side; and in one corner of the surrounding colonnades is a room,

where are kept certain relics of Mahomed and of other saints. On a pillar in the court is engraved an old map of the world.

The eastern gateway is considered still to be the Royal Gate, and is only opened for the highest personages; but on the steps collect the buyers and sellers of doves, for the people of Delhi are fond of pets, and especially of fat-tailed sheep. The well supplying water to the mosque was repaired in 1809 when it had dried up by Mr. Seton, then Resident, at the cost of the East India Company.

**Dariba.**—From the Jama Masjid runs a street called Dariba, through which one column tried to gain the Jama Masjid on the day of the assault, but, being opposed by overwhelming odds, had to retire again. On either side, where this street debouches into the Chandni Chouk, are the remains of gateposts of the “Khuni Darwaza,” or “bloody gate.” When Nadir Shah, the Persian, entered Delhi in 1739, there was a scuffle between some of his men and the inhabitants, in the course of which some Persians were killed and he himself was fired at. Transported with rage, he ordered a wholesale massacre of the people, and watched it from the Golden Mosque of Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daula, not far from here. This was built in 1721. The slaughter continued from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon, and over a hundred thousand are said to have perished, the streets being blocked with the dead.

**Kotwali.**—Close to the Golden Mosque is the Kotwali, or principal police-station, opposite which

were exposed the bodies of three princes, whom Hodson shot, in 1857. There used to be a Chouk here.

**Chandni Chouk.**—The name “Chandni Chouk” means silver market-place, and was originally given to an octagonal court built by Jahanara Begam, daughter of Shah Jahan, round the site of the present clock-tower. Manucci ascribes the lines “If there is a Paradise on earth, etc.” to Saadulla Khan on beholding this sarai. The name is now given to the street, which extends on either side, and contains many jewellers’ shops. A channel, in which water once flowed down the centre of the street, has long been covered over, but all down the centre are kiosks, in which Brahmins give water to Hindus, while Mahomedan water-carriers clink brass dishes to summon their thirsty co-religionists. The Chandni Chouk terminates at the Fatehpuri Masjid, built by a wife of Shah Jahan about 1650. It has only one dome, which is exceptional.

**Delhi Bank.**—This house was once the property of the Begam Samru of Sardhana. She had been a dancing girl and married about 1770 the adventurer Walter Reinhard, the “Sombre.” This man brutally massacred a number of Europeans of Patna in 1763, and had a price of Rs. 40,000 set upon his head. This house witnessed another massacre of the family of Mr. Beresford, the Manager, on May 11th, 1857, and was the scene of fierce fighting during the recovery of the city.

**Queen’s Gardens.**—Opposite the clock-tower is the town hall, containing a museum. In this is an

interesting panoramic photograph of the city, which was taken in 1857, shortly after the recapture; it shows the streets, usually teeming with people, to be absolutely deserted. It is said however to have been taken with a pin-hole lens. At the back of the town hall are the "Queen's Gardens," the Park of Delhi, bounded by the Queen's Road, which leads to the Dufferin Railway Bridge, and to the Cabul Gate. At the corner of the gardens is the house of Bahadur Jang Khan, Chief of Dadri, now occupied by the Cambridge Mission, whose church is close by. Near here also, on the banks of the canal, was the palace with baths of Saadat Khan, brother of Ali Mardan Khan, who constructed the canal.

**Mori Gate.**—A road over the Dufferin Railway Bridge leads to a gap in the walls, once closed by the Mori Gate, which was removed after the Mutiny, in order to give freer egress and ingress to the increased traffic. From the Mori Gate several diverging roads lead into the civil lines, past the statue of Sir Alexander Taylor. This is not a very suitable site for this statue as he took part in the left attack.

**Cabul Gate.**—This gate, close to which John Nicholson was mortally wounded, is now filled by an earthen ramp, which takes the Queen's Road over the railway. Turning to the left at the top of the ramp the road passes the Teliwara Martello Tower, and, shortly afterwards, the Burn Bastion. From a gap in the wall, caused by the removal of the Lahore Gate, a road over the railway leads to the Sadr (or chief) bazar, which has sprung up



since 1857, and has developed into an enormous suburb. Beyond the railway is a continuation of the Western Jumna Canal.

**Lahore Gate.**—The Lahore Gate was widened to three portals by Aurangzeb on account of the dense traffic, and has now been removed altogether. The doors like others of the period had iron spikes high up to prevent their being charged by elephants. It was the limit of the operations during the siege of 1857, and was one of the last points captured, not without difficulty. Inside the gate is the great grain bazar of Delhi, leading to the Chandni Chouk.

A mosque which stands outside the gate was built by the Sirhindi Begam, one of the wives whom Shah Jahan married after the death of his wife, Arjamand Banu Begam, Mumtaz-i-Mahal.

The walls beyond date back to the days of Shah Jahan, but they were put in repair, and the defences brought up to date, in the early years of the last century. The Garstin Bastion, then constructed, was removed in 1904 to make room for the railway, and gaps have been made in many other places.

**Ajmere Gate.**—The Ajmere Gate is probably still in much the same condition as when built out of materials borrowed from an older city. Just opposite the gate, and protected by an out-work, built in 1811, is the college of Ghazi-ud-din, father of the first Nizam of Hyderabad. The school has an endowment, but also receives Government aid. On the west of the college is the founder's tomb and a mosque; outside the ditch are remains of the





underground apartments of Safdar Jang, once one of the 'sights of Delhi.

The road crossing the railway by a bridge opposite the Ajmere Gate, leads to the New Capital.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE PALACE.

*Plan, page 109.*

The fort was commenced on April 19th, 1639, under the superintendence of Ghairat Khan, then subahdar of Delhi, and soon after was put under Allah Verdi Khan for 2 years or so, and then under Makramat Khan, Mir Samani. It was completed in 9 years and 3 months or so, and the opening ceremony took place in 1648, Saadulla Khan being then Prime Minister.

The lofty battlemented walls, in the form of a Baghdadi octagon, were carried round the city side of the castle to three-storied towers at the north and south ends of the river-face. Between these the wall was made lower, and along a terrace, formed at the level of the top, were the residences of the emperor and his ladies, thus assuring a good view of the river, and every chance of cool nights; the days could be spent in underground apartments behind the thickness of the wall. On the city side of the castle there is a deep moat, once kept filled with water, and stocked with fish; since 1857 no water has been allowed to stand in the moat. A glacis also has been formed, and has extinguished the green gardens which lined the moat and contrasted with the rose-red walls.

The gates of the castle are the Lahore and Delhi Gates, the Water Gate (at the south-east

corner), a small postern about the centre of the river-face, and the Salimgarh Gate, which opened on to the bridge of 12 arches, leading into that fort. The moat was spanned by wooden drawbridges, and the present stone bridges were not constructed until 1811. This fact is recorded by an inscription over the gate leading into the barbican, which, with the one in front of the Delhi Gate, was made by Aurangzeb, who objected to the clear view into the palace which the people could formerly obtain, whenever the gates were opened.

In front of the Lahore Gate there was a great square, in which those Hindu nobles, whose turn it was to mount guard, encamped during their twenty-four hours of duty, for they never cared to trust themselves within the walls. Here in Aurangzeb's time a lion and a goat were paraded together to show that the meek would receive even-handed justice inside.

To the south of this square there was constructed the "Ellenborough Tank," about 1846. This tank, being of red sandstone, was called the "Lal Diggi," and was about five hundred feet long by a hundred and fifty feet wide, with towers at the four corners, and steps at the two ends; it was filled with water which flowed into it through the Chandni Chouk. It has now been filled in.

**The Fort.**—The castle is entered by the Lahore Gate, over which are rooms, occupied in May, 1857, by the Captain of the Palace Guard. Here were done to death the captain, the commissioner, and the magistrate of Delhi, the chaplain, his daughter,

and a young lady friend, also Mr. Nixon the Commissioner's Head Clerk.

Within the Gate is a vaulted, covered arcade, with rooms on either side, and an octagonal open court half way, called the "Chatr Chouk," or Umbrella Court. From this steps lead to the top of the Lahore Gate; on these steps the Commissioner of Delhi was cut down. The rooms over the gate were made by closing in the arches of the once open pavilions with brickwork. In 1857 the king's guard mounted at the guard room, or *kili-khana*, just at the Chatr Chouk, the Sepoy guard being at the entrance gateway.

**Court of the Nakkar Khana.**—The covered passage mentioned gave access to a square court, surrounded by arcades, in which were sheltered the troops of the Mahomedan nobles when on guard. From this square, to the right, and through a gateway with three doors (now removed), there runs a straight road to the Delhi Gate, with a canal down the centre. On either side of this road there used to be a raised foot-way to keep the foot-passengers safe from the crowded traffic. Bordering these footways there were lines of double-storied houses, with gates, at intervals, giving entrance to the quarters for the nobles and the various workshops on the west side, and to the Mina Bazar and servants' quarters on the east. The line of this road was continued through a corresponding triple gate on the north side of the Nakkar Khana court along the road to Salimgarh. Just beyond this gate was a cistern under a large tree and here a massacre of people taken captive took place on May



THE SCENE OF MASSACRE IN THE FORT, MAY 16TH, 1857.





16th, 1857. The road was bordered by other quarters, and the stables lay beyond a third triple gate, near which there ran the canal, which entered by way of a bastion, at the angle of the castle, close by here.

In the court of the Nakkar Khana, or music-gallery, the nobles had to alight from their elephants, and enter the next court on foot. Over the dividing gateway were stationed the musicians, with their hautboys, cymbals, serpents, and other strange instruments, and the enormous drums, or "nakaras," which announced the arrival of the emperor to take his seat on the throne in the Diwan Am.

**Court of the Diwan Am.**—This was commonly called the Am-Khas. It was surrounded by arcades of a single story, and was of magnificent dimensions, a hundred and eighty yards wide by a hundred and forty yards long. The arcades were apportioned to the different nobles, who vied with each other in their decoration, so that rich carpets, velvets, and silk were disposed in profusion. In this court the guard mounted, and there were always 9 elephants and 9 horses standing ready accoutred. Between the gateway and the Diwan Am there seems to have once been a terrace, about a hundred yards long and ten wide, on which there stood an enclosure, with sandstone screens around, called the "Gulalbari." This term, however, was given also to the private enclosures of the emperor, and it may have referred to the balustrade of wood, painted vermilion, the royal colour, which

surrounded, at a little distance, the Diwan Am, and outside which ambassadors and the courtiers of lower rank had to stop, unless summoned within it by bearers of silver maces, who also were kept outside.

On either side of the court of the Diwan Am there were gateways which led, that on the right to the domestics' quarters, that on the left to the store-rooms where various state appurtenances were kept, and to the imperial kitchens. To the left of the hall, in the east wall of the court, there was yet another gate, which opened into a small court; out of this other gates led, one to the Regalia Chambers, another, always shaded by a red canopy, (and therefore called the "Lal Pardah" gate), to the court of the Hall of Private Audience. Here and elsewhere in the Imperial apartments there were female guards supervised by eunuchs. There were even, it is said, lady clerks to the Emperor.

**Diwan Am.**—The Hall of Public Audience stands opposite the Nakkar Khana; the sixty pillars were once covered with polished limewash, with paintings and gilded flowers such as still adorn the Diwan Khas. The emperor sat on his raised throne, attendants standing beside him with peacock fans and flaps to drive away the flies. Below the throne sat the prime minister on a marble seat; he alone spoke to the emperor, and transmitted the petitions. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades; brocade canopies concealed the roof; silk carpets were spread on the floor; and,

on three sides of the hall, there was pitched a red tent supported by silver-plated poles "as high as the masts of a barque" and lined with flowered chintz. In front of the raised throne, at a little distance and surrounding a space left for the highest officials, there was a balustrade covered with gold or silver plating, as the importance of the occasion demanded, guarded by mace-bearers with golden maces. The principal officers of State were seated at the four corners of this space and outside the great nobles stood, their eyes down-cast and their hands folded. A marble balustrade filled in the spaces between the outer pillars of the hall, and on this were gilded vases; the courtiers of lesser degree were stationed outside this and under the tent. While the emperor was seated on his throne, the musicians in the Nakkār Khana played soft music, which did not disturb but pleased the ears.

When the business of hearing the petitions, or of presenting ambassadors, was finished, elephants, horses, antelope, rhinoceros, panthers, and a number of other animals or birds were brought in for the emperor's inspection, or the cavalry might be reviewed, and the young soldiers called on to try their strength at sheep-cutting. On some days the emperor attended the chief court, which was situated in a corner of the square, and himself took a seat on the bench to hear the cases.

Justice then was rough, without coded laws, and very ready. The malefactor did not linger in prison, but was speedily removed, to be crushed

to death by an elephant, or otherwise executed; sometimes he was condemned to be bitten by poisonous snakes. But the emperor alone had powers of life and death in Delhi.

There is a raised throne, of carved marble and inlaid work against the back wall. In the recess behind it are some pictures in "pietra dura," returned from the South Kensington Museum. Others, again, were restored by the orders of the late Marquis Curzon, who, at his own expense, imported an Italian artist from Florence to carry out the work.

There are two doors to the right of the throne in the wall, the further giving access by steps to the recess behind the throne, to enable the princes to ascend and sit beside the emperor's throne, while the nearer gave entrance to the private gardens. These doors were strictly guarded by eunuchs, and those privileged to have a private audience with the emperor were admitted at a gate in the wall of an inner court abutting on the north end of the hall; through this court was entered, by a slightly devious route, the court in front of the Hall of Private Audience. Immediately behind the Dewan Am was the Imtiaz Mahal, one of the garden-courts given up to the women.

**Peacock throne.**—A description of this is given in "Memoirs of Delhi" by W. Hoey (translated from "The Enchanted History" of Mahomed Faiz Baksh (1819); this appears to have been copied

from the Badshah Namah. The throne is said to have taken seven years to make and to have been made by one Bebadal Khan, manager of the imperial goldsmiths' factory, probably trained by Austin of Bordeaux, who himself had been trained in the factory of Ferdinand II of Florence. Jewels valued at 86 lakhs of rupees and one lakh of tolas of gold (equivalent to £160,000) valued at 14 lakhs, were used. The throne was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  yards long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wide and 5 high. The interior of the roof was mainly of enamel, a small part only being set with jewels. The exterior, however, was completely inlaid with sapphires and rubies. The 12 pillars were set with emeralds. On the top two peacocks gazed on flowers of jewels; between the peacocks in the middle of the roof was a tree studded with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The three steps to the throne were inlaid with brilliants. Between the 12 pillars were 11 inlaid panels connecting them at the bottom; the centre panel, on which the emperor placed his hand before lowering himself to sit, cost 10 lakhs alone. One ruby in the centre of this panel was valued at 1 lakh. It had been sent as a present to Jahangir by Shah Abbas of Persia and was engraved with the names of Timur, Mirza Shah Rukh, Mirza Chiragh Beg, Shah Abbas, Akbar and Jahangir, also with the name of Shah Jahan. A masnavi (poem) in enamel ran round the throne, which has long been lost to view.

The Peacock Throne was ascended by the emperor in the Diwan Am at the spring festival or Nauroz; all the thrones used by his predecessors

were then placed on either side. The throne as a rule remained in the Delhi Palace, but Aurangzeb is said to have been crowned on the Peacock Throne at the Shahlimar gardens, five miles north of the city.

Manucci declares that Shah Jahan never had the fortune to ascend the throne, which he had made, and that Aurangzeb was the first to do so. Yet the date 1634 is derived from a chronogram in a recorded inscription on the throne.

**Court of the Diwan Khas.**—On three sides of this court, called the Jilau Khana, there used to be arcades; on the fourth side was the terrace, on which the Hall of Private Audience is situated, close up to the river-wall. This terrace used to be screened on the river side by pierced marble screens; a low marble balustrade extended along the inner side, which was shut in by cloth walls. Round three sides of this hall also were stretched wide awnings, fastened to the pavilions at either end of the terrace, and supported on the third side by poles overlaid with gold plates. Four horses always stood ready in the court, on the right hand side of which were stables.

The privilege of entering this court was only accorded to those high officers of State with whom the emperor was wont to consult, or to ambassadors and other persons of rank who were invited to the honour of a personal interview. To the left hand of a person entering the Lal Pardah Gate, and in the corner of the court, was the Pearl Mosque with its three gilded domes; this was separated from

the baths by a narrow alley, which led through a gate into the Hyat Baksh Garden. Across the court ran a water channel, up to which ambassadors and others could proceed but not beyond without a summons. The throne was placed on the edge of the terrace, in the centre archway of the Diwan Khas, and a balustrade enclosed a space about 20 feet square in front of the throne. Outside the balustrade were a few nobles and an orchestra.

**Diwan Khas.**—All the palace buildings on the river-terrace were of the same general plan as that of this hall; a description of it will therefore apply to the others, except that they were not so elaborately decorated. In plan the hall is oblong, with a central room, surrounded by a colonnade or verandah. The roof of the central room is supported by twelve pillars, forming three openings on each of the four sides; the room is therefore “barahdari,” or twelve-doored. The roof of the outer verandah is at the same level as that of the central room, and is supported by twenty pillars, so that there are thirty-two pillars in all. These are not all of the same shape; those at the corners and along the longer sides are more massive than the others. The intervals between the pillars are spanned by scalloped arches, a feature of Moghal architecture in Delhi. The spans of the roofs are reduced by marble slabs curved inwards, and the roofs themselves are of wooden planks, carved and painted; formerly these were overlaid with silver plates taken by the Mahrattas. The pillars and walls above are covered with gold painting and inlaid work of precious stones.



Above the end arches on both of the short sides of the central room is inscribed the famous couplet:—

Agar fardos ba rue zamin ast  
Hamin ast o hamin ast o hamin ast.

which may be translated:—

“If Paradise be on the face of the earth,  
It is this, even this, it is this.”

This couplet is attributed to Saadullah Khan, Prime Minister of Shah Jahan.

The hall is open on three sides, but some of the openings towards the river have been filled in with glass windows; this was probably done comparatively recently. The openings on the other three sides were closed by hangings, which were replaced by scented grass screens in the hot season. The floor was covered with Persian carpets; underneath flowed water in a marble channel, covered over with marble slabs.

There is no decoration on the exterior of the hall, which is of plain marble, but the surface is broken by recessed panels. On the four corners of the roof are small marble “chattris,” or umbrellas; these are little pavilions, each with four slender pillars and a dome. Marble domes have replaced the original ones, which were of fluted copper plates, overlaid with thin sheets of gold.

At one period the Peacock Throne stood in this hall; when that had been carried away a canopied throne of wood, covered with thin gold plates, was substituted. Bahadur Shah was reduced to a silver throne, which he used only on State

occasions. In 1842, the presentation of the usual offering by the Agent to the Lieut.-Governor being disallowed, the throne was removed to a recess on the staircase under the Khas Mahal and only brought back when the Mutiny broke out. Another throne of block crystal, which used to stand in this hall, is now at Windsor; this may have come from Arangpur, a few miles south of Delhi. There remains now only a marble seat.

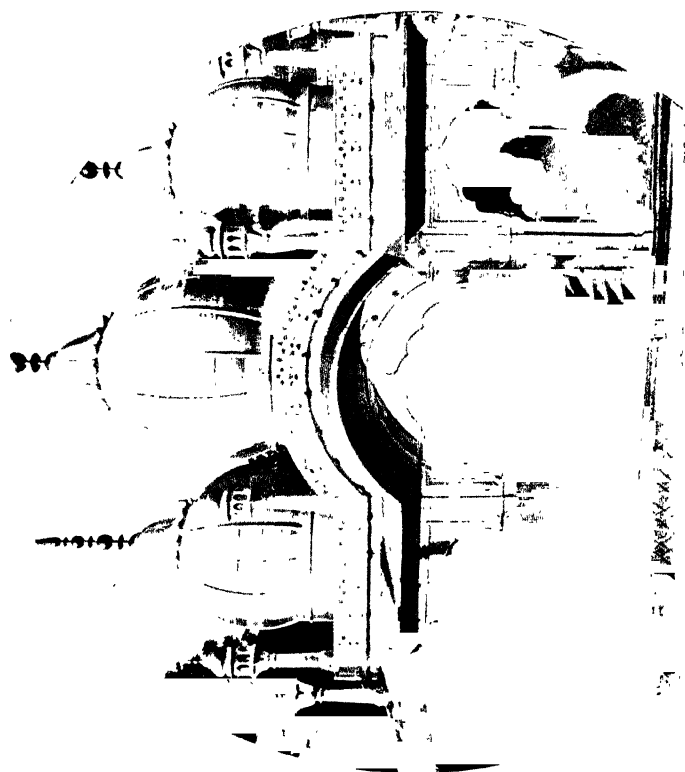
**Hammam.**—This is on the north side of the Diwan Khas. Close by the main entrance from the terrace into the hammam there is a small chamber containing a bath, let into the ground, and said to be made out of one block. The small size suggests that it was the bath set apart for the children. On the ceiling, now covered with whitewash, were, it is said, pictures of animals. A passage, parallel to the river-wall, traverses the building, and to the right of this is a bath-chamber, used during the hot weather; in the further recess of this is a shower-bath. In the centre of the larger chamber of this cool room is a shallow basin, ornamented with jade, a small piece of which yet remains. It is a custom among Hindu women to wear a necklace, composed of nine different stones, with a jade pendant, as a charm; each morning this is washed with water, and the water is drunk to avert sickness, or the charm may be merely sucked. This idea is said to have suggested the ornamentation of this basin, but the precious stones have, of course, long disappeared. These charms are called "nau-rattan," and such curios composed of nine different stones are offered for sale by the Delhi jewellers.

To the left of the main passage there are two more chambers, the first of which is a cool room, which, however, could be heated if so desired. Warm water could be admitted to flow in the channel which surrounds this chamber, and which is paved with mosaic, so arranged that the flowing water should seem to contain fish. In the side room of this chamber there is a marble couch, on which the coffee and hookah could be enjoyed after the bath had been taken. The walls are ornamented with mosaic up to the level of a man's waist, and the upper part is supposed to have been covered with whitewash for many years.

The next room was the hot room, warmed by fires under the floor; the fuel was introduced through holes in the floor of a passage, which is at the end nearest the Pearl Mosque. It is said that four tons of wood were necessary to heat up the baths.

**Pearl Mosque.**—Next to the baths is the little "Pearl" Mosque (Moti Masjid) built by Aurangzeb about 1662 as a private chapel for himself and the ladies of the zenana, who could obtain entrance by a door (now closed) to the right of the covered portion. On the floor are marble slabs of a prayer-carpet pattern, showing each person where to stand, and in the centre of the open court is the usual ablutionary basin, fed by water from below. The door is of bronze, and a flight of stairs close by leads to the top of the walls, whence it is apparent that the outer sides of the walls conform to the lines of the baths and other buildings, but the inner sides are carefully oriented towards





Mecca; the difference in direction is but slight, but was too important to be overlooked. The marble domes look heavy, but they have replaced domes of copper gilt, which were sold by auction for a mere song, after the siege in 1857. A similar fate befell the dome over the Octagon Tower and the small domes on the Diwan Khas, all of which were of gilded copper plates.

**Moti Mahal.**—The main passage through the baths led to the river-terrace again. On this part of the terrace there once stood the Pearl Palace (the term "Mahal" really means "Seraglio," but may, for convenience, be rendered "palace"). Between the baths and the site of this palace Bahadur Shah erected, about 1844, the Hira or Diamond Mahal, a small irregular pavilion; the water-channel in front of this was furnished with a number of fountains, and the edges were gracefully curved.

The Pearl Palace was of red sandstone, but was covered with polished whitewash (or else faced with marble), painted and gilded after the fashion of the Diwan Khas; it had five pierced windows towards the river. Above were two balconies; from which the emperor and his ladies could watch, secluded from the public gaze, the elephant combats, or troops passing in review, on the river-bed below. The hall was removed after the Mutiny, because it prevented the free circulation of air to the barracks, but a portion of the unimportant Hira Mahal was left. On the garden side of the hall there used to be a marble bath, about twelve feet square and five deep, with four legs, all carved

out of a single block of marble; it was brought from Makrana, in the Jodhpur State.

North of the Moti Mahal a small pavilion abuts on the domed Shah Burj or Royal Bastion, and beyond, in the corner of the castle, there used to be the Jahangir Garden and the quarters allotted to the princes and their families.

**Hyat Baksh, or Life-giving, Garden.**—This large garden, said to have cost 28 lakhs of rupees, was at the back of the Moti Mahal, and was about five hundred feet square; it was bounded, on the south, by the baths, the Pearl Mosque, and a wall, continued in line with these two buildings, and on the north by a wall, running from the Shah Burj. Outside this wall there ran the canal, and against the wall was a pavilion, still standing, built of marble, with a marble basin surrounded by shelving slabs. The water, entering from the canal at the back, flowed over these slabs in sheets, and thus represented the rain as it is wont to fall in the month of Sawan or September. In a corresponding pavilion, against the opposite wall, there is no basin, but a channel, into which the water fell in a smaller stream, as the rain falls in Bhadon or August; this water was filled into a reservoir at the top of the pavilion by hand, for it could not gravitate from the canal. A reservoir was constructed behind the Bhadon pavilion in 1910. In the marble basin of this pavilion there are recesses, in which wax or camphor candles were placed, giving a beautiful effect as the water fell in front of them; similar recesses are fashioned behind the

cataracts in which the water escaped. Each pavilion had four gilded turrets.

In the centre of the garden, and of the reservoir, there is a building made by Bahadur Shah in 1842, and called the Zafar Mahal. At the corner of the reservoir there stood a tree, called "pakal" (*Ficus venosa*), which was milked twice a day; the milk was esteemed for its medicinal qualities.

**Mahtab, or Moon, Garden.**—This lay between the Hyat Baksh Garden and the Salimgarh Road; the water from the canal in that road entered by a cascade. To the south of this garden was the Chobi Mosque, built by Ahmad Shah, presumably for the use of the attendants; there were also buildings of utilitarian purpose, such as the stores and the kitchens.

**Khas Mahal.**—This group to the south of the Diwan Khas contains the dwelling-place of the emperor, Tasbih Khana, his sleeping apartment, Khwabgah, and an octagonal tower, Musamman Burj; from this he used to show himself daily to his subjects, assembled in the river-bed below, an ancient custom, instituted by the Great Akbar. Many Hindus would not take their food unless they had attended this ceremony, which was considered of great importance in the times of the great emperors. Both Shahjahan and Aurangzeb on occasion made the greatest efforts to show themselves in spite of severe illness. And here King George V and Queen Mary showed themselves in 1911.

Out of the Musamman Burj projects a comparatively modern balcony, as the following



translation of the inscription will show; it starts in the north-east corner, and reads:—

“All praise and worship be to God, the Lord of the world, who made this emperor the king of kings, who is the son of kings, and of Timur’s royal line; he is the protector of the world, who holds his court in heavenly places, with a starry host; the upholder of religion, the father of victory, the great furtherer of the faith, the lord and conqueror of the world of his age, the shadow of God. On the face of the Musamman Burj he raised a new seat, such that the sun and moon, beholding it, are ashamed. The poet laureate was ordered to find a chronogram, so that it might remain in black and white, and the Sayyid devised the following: May this remain the seat of Akbar Shah, of ancient lineage, A.H. 1223.”

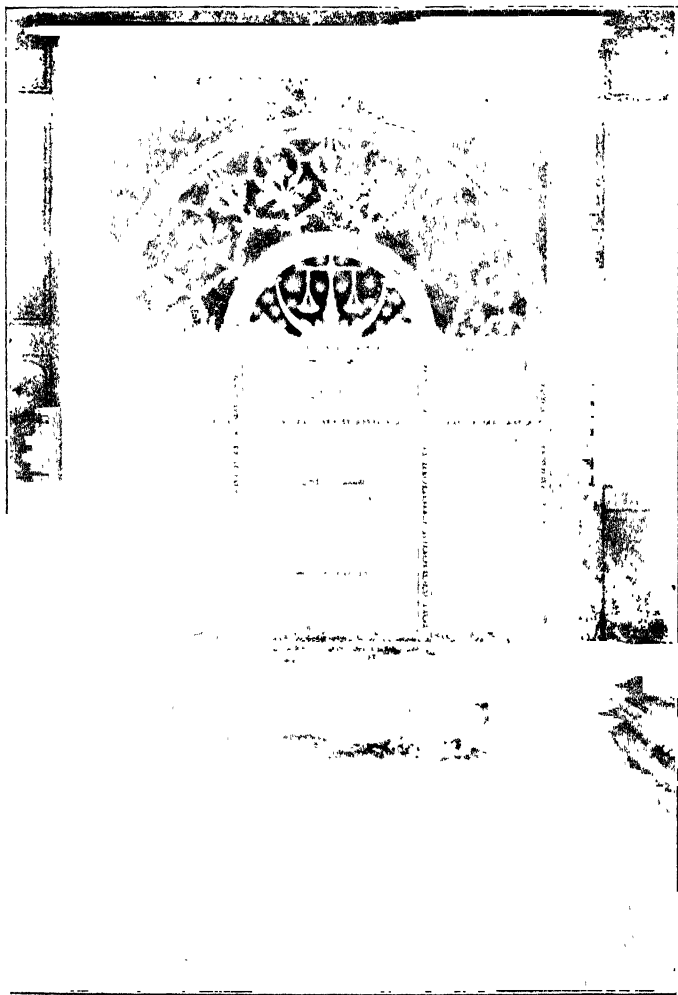
The last sentence, reckoning the value of the Arabic letters according to what is called the “Abjad,” gives the year after the Hegira, or flight from Mecca, of Mahomed in A.D. 622; the date corresponds to A.D. 1810, the Mahomedan year being lunar. The whole is a very flowery description of Akbar Shah II, a monarch, who was dependent for his safety and income on the Honourable East India Company.

On the inner wall of the room which is immediately behind the balcony is a fine inscription, which runs:—

“O thou, whose feet are fettered, and heart closed, beware!

O thou, whose eyes are closed, and feet set fast  
in mire, awake!





MARBLE SCREEN.

O thou, who goest west, with face turned east,  
looking back, mind thy goal!"

At the entrance to the water-gate below the tower an elephant was always stationed on guard. Over this room there is now a marble dome, which has replaced one of copper-gilt; this was sold by auction after 1857.

The part of the Khas Mahal through which flowed the water-channel was called the "Large Sitting-place." On the inside of the arch, which spans the "Channel of Paradise," above the marble screen, there are four verses, of which the lower to the right reads:—

"The Lord of the world, founder of this heavenly building, Shahab-ud-din Mahomed, the second to be born in a most prosperous hour, Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi, opened the door of bounty to the peoples of the world."

Across this channel, in the Khas Mahal, there is an exquisite inlaid and pierced marble screen, so thin as to be translucent in the upper part, where are depicted the sun, moon, and stars, and the scales of Justice; the lower part is like lace, so delicate is the carving.

**Rang Mahal.**—This apartment lies to the south of the Khas Mahal, and has been considerably defaced, by having been turned to use after 1857 as an officers' mess-room. It was formerly the royal zenana, and was then surrounded by a garden-court called the Intiaz Mahal, or Palace of Pre-eminence. All around this court were arcades

of red sandstone, surmounted by some two thousand gilded turrets. North and south, in the centre of the garden-walls, were pavilions of marble, similar to those in the Ilyat Baksh Garden. In the centre of the court was a basin, as much as a hundred and fifty feet square, fed by the stream which flowed along the terrace; there were twenty-five jets of water in the open channel leading to the reservoir. At either end of the hall there projected into the garden a kiosk, and under one of these was the entrance to the underground apartments.

In the centre of the entrance-hall of the Rang Mahal there was a representation of a lotus-flower, over the leaves of which the water bubbled and fell into a shallow marble basin; this was inlaid with mosaics, representing rose-petals and jasmine-blossoms, which seemed to move as the water swirled over them. The water escaped over the edge of this basin, and flowed, in a cataract, into the garden below. The roof of the Rang Mahal was once of silver, but in the days of Farukhsiyar copper was substituted for the silver; later, Akbar II replaced the copper by a wooden ceiling, painted vermilion. The hall has seven windows towards the river. Underneath are rooms which were used for retreat during summer heats.

At the south end of the terrace in the Imtiaz Mahal was a small pavilion, corresponding to the one in the Khas Mahal, and called the "Small Sitting-place." Between this and the Rang Mahal there was a high marble screen, to shut the women in from view; similar screens were placed in

between all the buildings to the south; they were carved with scalloped recesses.

**Daria, or River, Mahal.**—Next came a small and comparatively modern apartment, with two openings towards the river; this stood in a narrow court, fitted in between the Imtiaz Mahal and the next large court. It was much more ornate than the others, and had apparently a pediment, on the river-face, surmounted by the figure of a bird. The building was probably made of ordinary materials, and has been removed.

**Mumtaz, or Little Rang Mahal.**—This building is in the same style as that of the Rang Mahal; it was used by the princesses for their dwelling. It has five openings towards the river, and once had the usual garden with running water, fountains, and marble basins, on the edge of which the ladies sat and embroidered little hand-bags, in which they carried sweets and betel. After 1857 it was turned into a guard-room with prisoners' cells. In it is now an Archæological Museum.

**Khurd Jahan.**—Last of the seraglio buildings on the river-face, there came the "Little World." This, with other buildings no longer existing, is shown on a plan which was found in the India Office Library and was possibly prepared about 1847 for Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A copy without names was in Delhi in 1905. Gordon Sanderson in his Archæological Guide to the Fort accepted the general accuracy of this plan, corroborated by some old photographs and drawings, also found by the Author of this book at the India Office in 1906.

The stories of the one-time magnificence of the Palace may be more romantic than accurate, but there is no doubt that vast sums were spent in the emperor's kitchen, on bringing ice from Sirmur or Cashmere, on the lighting of the palace by torches all night long. The ladies' dresses of Dacca muslin, called "running water," "evening dew," "woven air," and by similar names, two or three yards weighing an ounce, did not last long, and cost about ten rupees a yard in 1820. Embroideries and paintings encouraged the arts and craft of Indian workmen.

The part of the castle, which lies between the apartments last mentioned and the road to the Delhi Gate, was filled with quarters for the domestics of a humble nature; but there appears to have been amongst these a "Silver Palace," of which we know nothing, for it has been swept away. There was also another garden, of roses for the production of "attar," close to the river-wall, and to the three-storied "Lion Tower," which had an adjoining pavilion like that at the Shah Burj. Near the Asad Burj there is the water-gate and some underground baths.

**Delhi Gate.**—At the south-western corner of the fort is the Delhi Gate, on either side of which stands a stone elephant; the riders represent Jaimai and Patta, two Rajput chiefs, killed, after a desperate struggle, in the emperor's darbar. The leaves of the gate are fitted with long spikes, placed high up, in order to resist a charge by elephants. One of the original elephants is said to have been







attacked and broken by a mad elephant of Shah-jahan's which refused to recognise Aurangzeb and he is said to have ordered the other also to be broken up. The fragments were found, but these elephants are reproductions.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE OUTSKIRTS OF SHAHJAHANABAD.

*Map, page 242.*

The Ridge, which is the northernmost spur of the ancient peninsula or island of India, has been called by Emma Roberts the "Majnun Pahar"; Majnun was the lover of Laila. The Ridge was of course the position taken up by the avenging army in 1857 for the three hot and rainy months of the Siege.

The Ridge lies at a considerable angle to the north face of the walls of Shahjahanabad. At the southern point, the distance is only a thousand yards, but the northern point is nearly four thousand yards distant from the Water Bastion. The Alipur road crosses the Ridge in a cutting called the "Khyber Pass." There is a break in the Ridge opposite the Kabul Gate and in this lie the suburbs of the Teliwara Mandi, Kishanganj and the Sabzi-mandi. Through those suburbs run the railways, and the canal of Ali Mardan Khan, made about 1640 in the reign of Shahjahan, and called the "Canal of Paradise;" it was cleared and straightened and reopened in 1820. South of Kishanganj is the now populous suburb of the Sadr Bazar, in 1857 a collection of mean hovels, and called Paharipur. Beyond a bridge over the canal, and to the right of the road leading down off the Ridge, is a monument to those of the first European Bengal Fusiliers, who fell in attacks made on Kishanganj.

There is a mass of gardens in the Sabzimandi, among which are the trees of the Roshanara Bagh. In these gardens the rebels found fine cover, from which to harass the defences on this part of the Ridge, and also the camp; the operation of driving them out was always costly in lives to both sides.

**Flagstaff Tower.**—This place was the scene, on the 11th of May 1857, of the concentration of an agitated crowd of women, children, ayahs and other servants, all vainly looking towards the bridge for signs of relief from Meerut; there were no British troops at Delhi. At evening, the few remaining sepoys becoming restless, they fled to Karnal and Meerut. But the country was up, bands of marauding Gujars (a wild tribe constantly under police surveillance) searched them out, and stripped them even of their clothes; they staggered along by day in the burning sun, and crouched at night in thickets, trembling at every sound, suffering agonies which can be but faintly imagined. Many were murdered.

About a hundred and fifty yards to the north of the tower is an enclosure, in which rest the remains of four officers of the 54th Bengal Native Infantry. This regiment was ordered down from the Cantonments by the brigadier to quell any riot which might arise from the arrival of the rebels from Meerut. As the regiment debouched from the main-guard enclosure at the Cashmere Gate, a few rebel cavalymen attacked the officers, and the sepoys did not raise a weapon to interfere, but broke off into the city. The colonel was wounded in seventeen places—some say bayoneted by his own

men—but survived until evening, and was carried off in the retreat, never to be heard of again, but probably killed near the old ice-pits. The bodies of these four officers were recovered and sent up here on a cart, on which they were still lying when the troops regained the Ridge a month later.

The position taken up on the afternoon of the 8th of June, after a march of over ten miles in the blazing sun, and after fighting two actions, extended along the Ridge from the Flagstaff Tower to Hindu Rao's house. Between these two points are two buildings, the first being the Chauburji Mosque, the other a very old structure, built by Firoze Shah in the fourteenth century. This, though now named the "Observatory," may have been a hunting-tower, past which the game would be driven to be shot at from the top. To the left of this building may still be traced the remains of a battery.

**Hindu Rao's House.**—This was built as a residence by a Mr. William Fraser, agent to the governor-general at Delhi, about 1830. It stands in a splendid position, overlooking the city, and is open to any breeze which may blow.

Mr. Fraser incurred the enmity of Shams-uddin, then Nawab of Ferozpur, a small estate southwest of Delhi, near the border of the Punjab and the United Provinces. It was granted to the family for services to Lord Lake. There are two accounts of how this bad feeling arose. The English account is that the nawab was a dissolute young ruffian, and objected strongly to the admonitions of Fraser. The Indian account says that Mr. Fraser had

formed too close a friendship with a young woman in whom the nawab was interested: this story is embodied in a song of the dancing-girls of Delhi. The young nawab determined to rid himself of Mr. Fraser, and to this end suborned some assassins, who took up their residence in the "Billimori" (the "Bulvemar's Ward" of Colonel Sleeman); this street leads out of the Chandni Chouk. For a long time the assassins sought their opportunity, but could find none. At last Mr. Fraser accepted an invitation to dine with the Raja of Kishengarh, in Dariaganj, and returned to his house after dark. He took the road through the Mori Gate, and then followed the eastern side of the Ridge, turning up the winding road just below his house. At the turn in the road one of the murderers, who had been riding in front, turned his horse and shot Mr. Fraser as he passed him. He then galloped past the escort into the city, but was eventually caught and hanged. It is said, however, that the real murderer was concealed among the bushes, and from there fired the fatal shot; that he escaped into the Alwar State, and never met his deserts. The nawab was tried for complicity, and was hanged outside the Cashmere Gate on October 10th, 1835; his hanging body turned towards Mecca, whereupon the people considered him to have been a martyr.

The house was then bought from the executors of Mr. Fraser by Hindu Rao, a Mahratta nobleman, brother of the beautiful Baiza Bai, wife of Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior. She became Regent at her husband's death in 1827, as his adopted son was but 12 years of age, but after nine

years was deposed, and with her brother, who was head of the Military Department in the State, fled to the protection of "John Company." Hindu Rao had resided for some years in Kishanganj before he bought this house, and here he transferred his hunting cheetas, which were one of the sights. He is described by John Lang as "a little fat, round chieftain with small, twinkling eyes," and as largely exceeding his pension from the State of twelve thousand pounds a year in constant endeavour to discover the "philosopher's stone." It is a curious fact that the heavy fire directed on this house from Kishanganj, in 1857, came from his former residence. Hindu Rao died in 1854, and was given a State funeral by his adherents, but the house was still occupied, when the Mutiny broke out, by his relatives. It has since been repaired, and is now a hospital.

At the back of the house is an old "baoli," supposed to date from pre-Mahomedan times. The Asoka pillar on the Ridge is said to have been dug out of the ruins close to the baoli. The other old buildings around are part of Firoze Shah's hunting-palace. Near the "Observatory" is a bench-mark of the Great Trigonometrical Survey; the name has perhaps been given to the building owing to this circumstance.

This famous house was held against many fierce attacks by Major Reid, with his Sirmur Gurkhas, some of the 60th Rifles, and the infantry of the Guide Corps, assisted by the first Punjab Infantry. In remembrance of their comradeship here, the two first-named regiments wear the same uniform to



HINDU RAO'S HOUSE AFTER THE SIEGE.





this day. From this house, riddled through and through with shot and shell, until the verandah columns were knocked to pieces, the Gurkhas never budged, except to pursue the baffled enemy; the wounded, even, refused to be taken to the hospital in the sheltered camp below, for Gurkhas disliked being parted from their wounded. The brunt of most of the attacks fell on the garrison here, and the three corps mentioned had 1,001 casualties.

**Mutiny Memorial.**—Between Hindu Rao's house and the Mutiny Memorial there stands, close to the road, a pillar. This was erected at Meerut, in the third century B.C., by King Asoka, and was removed here, sixteen hundred years later, by Firoze Shah, to grace his hunting-park. This pillar was much injured by a gunpowder explosion, broken into five pieces, and rather roughly put together again; the inscription has become deleted. Another of these pillars stands in the Kotila of Firoze Shah, and a third at Allahabad. There are six other pillars known. The Memorial records that 2,163 officers and men were returned as killed, wounded, and missing between the 8th June and the 7th of September. The mutineers were frequently reinforced by large numbers; they had at their disposal the Delhi Arsenal, the largest in India. "We were the besieged, not the besiegers." But not an inch of ground was ceded, the enemy was never allowed to retain the smallest advantage, cost what it might to drive him back. All honour to those brave men, who by their courage and endurance upheld the prestige of the British arms against a by no means despicable foe, and under climatic

conditions, which it had always been supposed would make it impossible for British troops to take the field.

In front of Hindu Rao's house, and along the Ridge, up to the extreme point where the memorial stands, were several heavy gun batteries, and breast-works to guard the intervals. Down the hill, the enclosure of a white-pinnacled temple, called the "Sammy-house," was occupied. About three hundred yards to the left of this a battery for light guns was constructed, in readiness to be armed on the arrival of the siege-train; it was meant to cover the construction of the siege-batteries. A miniature embrasure of red sandstone marks the site of this light battery. The defences had also been carried down the reverse slope of the Ridge to a sarai, marked by an iron chimney, in the Sabzi-mandi; the Sarai piquet was posted there. The "Crow's Nest" battery was in this line of works, at the bottom of the slope; it was armed with light mortars, in order to play on the masses of the enemy as they advanced to the attack. Then came a battery on the General's Mound, with light field-guns below in a breast-work; cavalry piquets patrolled beyond, up to the drain, which was usually full of water. On the race-course in rear, among the bodies of camels, horses, and cattle, was another piquet, and two heavy guns were in battery there. Lastly, the river flank of the camp was watched by cavalry patrols, supported by two light guns.

**Old Cantonments.**—The Alipur Road skirts the Metcalfe Park, which lies to the east, and crosses

the Ridge in a slight cutting, called the "Khyber Pass." On the west was the Sadr Bazar, or principal bazar of the cantonments. Across the plain, over which the road runs, there still extends a long line of "bells-of-arms," in which the arms and accoutrements of the sepoys used to be locked up. The officers' houses stood on the near side, the "lines" of sepoys' huts were beyond, and further on still were the parade grounds, abutting on a deep drain, which draws off the water from a swamp at Najafgarh, some miles away. This cut was a great protection to the camp during the siege, running, as it did in that year, nearly full.

**Military Cemetery.**—It is but a short distance from the Alipur Road along the bank of the Najafgarh drain, to the old Military Cemetery, in which lie many victims to shot and shell and disease; among the latter Sir Henry Barnard, who was, for about a month, in command of the besieging force. His first gravestone is built into the wall near the entrance-gate, but his grave is opposite that of Colonel Chester, who was killed by the first discharge of the enemy's guns at Badli-ki-Sarai.

To the east of the Alipur Road, a little north of the drain, was a practice-ground of the Sappers and Miners when they were quartered in Dariaganj, seventy-five years ago; to the west was a Government Garden (or "Company Bagh"), and also ice-pits, in which the ice, made during the winter, was stored for summer consumption, and issued to subscribers at the rate of four pounds a day. On this side also lay the race-course, and a garden beyond, built by Charles Metcalfe, enclosed the house of

Sir David Ochterlony, who was Resident in Delhi early in the nineteenth century. The cantonments were covered with camps during the Durbars of 1903 and 1911.

**Coronation Darbar Park.**—About a quarter of a mile to the north of the Najafgarh Jhil drain, a road to the right leads out of the Alipur Road to the site of the Proclamation of Edward the Seventh, the first British Emperor of India, in 1903. There still remains the amphitheatre of earth, which was then covered with seats, and roofed in imitation of the Moghal style. An embankment has been thrown up all around to keep out the water, which floods the low-lying site during the rainy season, and the whole of the interior has been laid out as a park. An obelisk is erected in the centre as record of the site of the thrones of King George V and Queen Mary at the Coronation Durbar of 1911.

**Azadpur.**—About three miles north of the cantonments, the Alipur Road effects a junction with the old Grand Trunk Road, which, leaving the city by the Lahore Gate, runs under the Ridge and through the Sabzimandi. The two roads meet near a village, Azadpur; a mile further on is the Badli-ki-Sarai, at which the mutineers first opposed the avenging force in its advance on June 8th, 1857. Having fought a successful action, the force was divided into its two brigades at Azadpur, and advanced to the capture of the Ridge by the two roads.

**Battlefield of Badli-ki-Sarai.**—About a mile beyond the village of Azadpur, is an old caravan-sarai. The road used to pass through this sarai,

but when converted into the Grand Trunk Road it was taken outside to the east. Just to the north of the village are two mounds, and an old building, which looks like a tomb. On the nearer mound is a grave, that of an officer killed during the battle. On this mound the enemy had posted their heavy guns, which opened with deadly effect on our troops advancing up the road, at the first flush of dawn. The mound was charged by the 75th Foot, straight at the guns, although formed in square. On the west of the battlefield the railway runs, and beyond may be discerned trees, the remnant of the Shalimar Gardens, laid out by Shahjahan in 1653; here was the first halting-place of the emperor in his progress to the Punjab or to Cashmere. Beyond the gardens runs the canal, along the further bank of which the cavalry and guns made a turning movement, delayed by flooded country and numerous water-courses.

**Garden of Mahaldar Khan.**—The Grand Trunk Road, on the way to Delhi from Badli-ki-Sarai, passes through a triple gateway, and just avoids another gate a few hundred yards distant. Between these two gates there used to be a bazar, and the gates were built by one Mahaldar Khan, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, about A.D. 1728. Mahaldar Khan appears to have been a Nazir of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. The garden of this noble is close by, and is one of the numerous ones bordering the road, on either side, right up to the Sabzimandi.

**Roshanara Garden.**—A cross-road, from near a flour-mill, built on the site of the Sabzimandi Piquet, leads to the pleasant gardens laid out by

the Sirhindi Begam, wife of Shahjahan, and by Roshanara Begam, favourite sister of Aurangzeb. This sister was devoted to his interests, but fell somewhat out of favour in later years. She, is described by Manucci as being very clever and mirthful, but not very good-looking, and not so attractive as Jahanara, her sister. Roshanara is buried in the garden; she died in 1671.

**Mithai Bridge.**—The origin of this name, which is given to the bridge over Ali Mardan Khan's canal nearest to the Cabul Gate, is uncertain, but we find it mentioned in the account of the massacre of Nadir Shah, long before the British occupation. A road runs from here along the junction canal towards Old Delhi, and passes the end of the populous suburb known as the Sadr Bazar; the suburb near the bridge is called the "Teliwara Mandi," or Oil-sellers Market. This suburb was built somewhere about 1835 and was then called Trevelyanpore; it included a "Bentinck Square." The Moghal park of artillery seems to have been situated beyond these suburbs about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the city, but another account places this on the traditional site of Timur's camp in Metcalfe Park.

**Police Lines.**—The first siege battery was placed where now are the police lines. The road, as it descends from the Ridge, passes the "Crow's Nest," overhanging a deep pond, opposite the Sarai piquet and the "Sammy house."

A small red sandstone embrasure in the police lines marks the site of the right half of No. I Battery, designed to fire on the Mori Bastion. The left half was near a well, visible from the road, in

the garden of the house, which is next to the Court of the Sessions Judge. This battery, for a time, fired on the Cashmere Gate, but the guns were afterwards removed to the great breaching battery near Ludlow Castle. A ravine runs close by, which afforded shelter to working parties and reliefs passing to and from the camp.

**Cemetery.**—From a point, where six roads meet, a road leads between a garden, in which is the statue put up in honour of John Nicholson, and a cemetery, opened in 1855 where he lies buried; his grave is a few paces distant from the gate. The joy of those who heard of the fall of Delhi was subdued, when they received the news of his death, almost in the moment of victory.

**Kudsia Gardens.**—A road runs towards the river from opposite the gate of the Ludlow Castle grounds to the old Kudsia Bagh, a name now given to all the grounds here, but up to 1857 confined to a walled garden, of which only the gateway, a corner-tower, and a portion of the walls remain. This garden was made by Udham Bai, wife of Mahomed Shah, in 1748; she had the title of Nawab Kudsia Sahib Zaman. In front of the gate was a court, with surrounding houses, under the shelter of which No. IV Mortar Battery was constructed. Daniell's "Oriental Scenery" shows the walls with three tiers of arched openings. At the corners were octagonal towers with sandstone screens to the windows and balconies on the upper storeys. The enclosure seems to have been built in the Fatehpur Sikri style.



At the south-east corner of the walled garden is an old mosque. From the top of this the rebels kept up an annoying fire one night, while the orange, and lime trees were being cleared away, to make room for a battery which Captain Taylor, of the Bengal Engineers, proposed to make behind the garden walls, through which embrasures were to be opened. But, when morning dawned, it was found that a swell in the ground, not noticeable from the top of the wall, would mask the Water Bastion, so a new site had to be sought. Boldly advancing to reconnoitre, Captain Taylor found himself in the "Custom-house," which was the court of the principal Salt-line officer. In those days a thick hedge was maintained for hundreds of miles south of Delhi, to prevent the smuggling of salt (which is taxable) from the Rajputana States into British India. This building, with its out-houses, seemed just the place, and the general sanctioned the construction of a battery there.

**Custom-house Battery.**—All traces of the "Custom-house" have disappeared; it was a large and long building with a verandah on the city side. Between the verandah pillars a sandbag parapet was made during the first night, so as to hide what was going on, and inside the main room a parapet of earth was thrown up. When all was ready, holes were knocked in the wall, so that the guns might open fire, and the sandbags in front were removed. But the difficulty of constructing the battery under a heavy fire, and in a position such that a sight could not be taken to the point of attack, had caused an error to be made in the embrasures. It was

suggested to the artillery officer that the guns might open fire and put things to rights, but he demurred, so the sappers and miners, with admirable coolness, mounted on the parapet and rearranged the sand-bags in the face of a tremendous fire at short range, and in broad daylight. The whole of the circumstances connected with this battery, from the adventurous reconnaissance, throughout the construction, to this last gallant action, were very remarkable. All was done literally in the face of an undaunted enemy, whose round shot came with such force as to pierce both walls of a room, which it had not been possible to protect, and to kill an artilleryman in the back verandah. And many of the men who worked at this battery were unarmed.

A miniature embrasure on the floor of an out-house is supposed to mark the site where the left-hand gun was placed, but most of the guns were in the house itself, even further forward, and within a hundred and eighty yards of the walls. A range used to exist here. It was only a fifty yards range but quite sufficient for practice with the old musket. It was a difficult matter to hit a target eighteen feet square at three hundred yards.

**Ludlow Castle.**—This was the residence of the Commissioner of Delhi and is now the Delhi Club. Near the south gate are two batteries. One is in the garden of a house adjoining the cemetery, close behind the wall of the latter; this was the right half of No. II, the great breaching battery. In those days the present dense grove of trees within the cemetery walls did not exist. The left half of this battery was in the grounds of Ludlow Castle,

at a somewhat greater range; the miniature embrasure is visible from the road.

**Metcalf Park.**—At a point near where the Alipur Road crosses a ravine, a branch road leads to the Flagstaff Tower on the Ridge. Half way to the Tower, east of the road, was a Ball Alley or Racket Court and the Assembly Rooms were at the fork. To the east is a mound, which is an old brick-kiln, and was occupied by a piquet during the siege; the earthworks on the top may still be traced.

On the east again was the old Metcalfe House, built, in 1844, by Sir Thomas Metcalfe, then Resident at the Court of the King of Delhi; his son was joint-magistrate at the time of the outbreak. In the Stables south of the house, and Cowhouse, south of the ravine, were established piquets during the siege and their advanced position made them the objective of frequent attack by the mutineers.

In the grounds of Metcalfe Park the temporary Houses of Parliament and Secretariat were built in 1912 pending the completion of the buildings of the New Capital. Although intended to last but a few years, they had to stand much longer and succeeded remarkably well.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE CENTURY FOLLOWING CONQUEST.

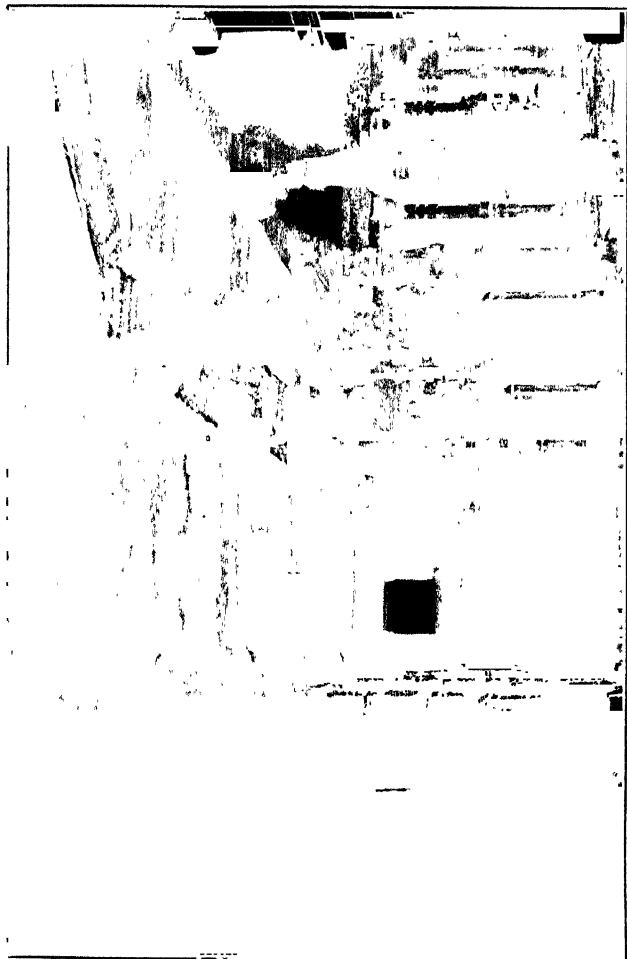
It is unnecessary to recapitulate the scanty history of Delhi before the Mahommedan conquest of the place, for that has been dealt with in the first chapter. The Mahommedan conqueror of India was Muiz-ud-din, Mahomed bin Sam, Shahab-ud-din, commonly known as Mahomed of Ghor, the country from which he came. His first attempt ended in utter failure, for Prithwi Raja, of Delhi, decisively defeated him at Tilauri, near Thanesar, in A.D. 1191. But he was not to be baulked in his design, came again after a year, and was completely successful, defeating in 1193 and slaying on the same field the Hindu king and many of his Rajput allies, including, it is said, Samarsi, 23rd King of Udaipur. The Hindu army is said to have included 300,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Kutb-ud-din Ibak, his general, proceeded to Delhi and occupied the place, entering the city on the west by the Ranjit Gate, the name of which was altered to the Ghazni Gate. Kutb-ud-din was appointed Indian Viceroy, but Mahomed of Ghor was sovereign, until he was murdered, in A.D. 1206, by a band of the Ghakkar tribe on the banks of the Indus.

On the death of Mahomed, his kingdom was split up, and **Kutb-ud-din** became independent

sovereign of India. He had been a slave, but had raised himself to be general, viceroy, and then first King of India. The dynasty which commenced with him is known as the "Slave Dynasty," for many of his successors, like himself, raised themselves from a condition of servitude to the throne. During his viceroyalty he had commenced the erection of the Kutb Minar, and had started, in 1200, the mosque which is close by; the former had not been completed when he met his death by a fall from his horse in 1210, while playing polo at Lahore, to which place he had removed his court. Possibly he was buried there, for his grave is not traceable at Delhi, unless it be one of some nameless ones in the courtyard of his mosque. Hamilton says it is a few hundred yards west of the minar. He is said to have built himself a "White Palace" within the citadel, but no trace of this remains, although it is mentioned more than once in subsequent history.

Kutb-ud-din was succeeded by his son, **Aram Shah**, a weak person, not at all fit to assume the reins, which indeed he soon had to resign to a stronger hand.

**Shams-ud-din Altamsh**, or **Ilitmish**, was a very different man, and the greatest of his dynasty. His story reminds us, to some extent, of Joseph, for his brethren sold him into slavery, and he was carried to Bokhara. Thence he was eventually brought to Delhi, and Kutb-ud-din gave for him the huge price of fifty thousand pieces of silver. His beauty is said to have been extraordinary, his valour and wisdom no less, and a valiant action on



KUWAIT-UL-ISLAM MOSQUE.



his part obtained for him his freedom, the post of captain-general, the hand of his master's daughter, and favour in the highest degree. At the time of his master's death he was Governor of Budaon, and when the inefficiency of Aram Shah became apparent he advanced on Delhi, possessed himself of the capital almost without a struggle, and ascended the throne in A.D. 1210.

The most important event of his reign was the arrival at Delhi in 1229 of an emissary from the Caliph of Baghdad, descendant of the Prophet, bearing a diploma which recognized Altamsh as an independent sovereign. In 1219 there was a Moghal invasion, under Changiz Khan, the first attempt of this Central Asian tribe to obtain a footing, but this they were unable to accomplish permanently until over three centuries had elapsed. To Altamsh we owe the completion of the Kutb Minar and an extension of the mosque enclosure, while his tomb, whether it was his own work or not, is certainly one of the most beautifully ornamented buildings of any age. He died in A.D. 1236.

Altamsh had no faith in the power of his sons to rule wisely, and said openly that he wished his daughter, Riziyat, to succeed him. This, however, she was not allowed to do immediately, for **Rukn-ud-din Firoze Shah** first ascended the throne, the queen-mother being practically regent. This state of affairs did not long continue, for his sister deposed him, amid the acclamation of the populace. He was imprisoned, died in 1237, and was buried at Malikpur, to the west of Old Delhi.



**Riziyat** was the only Queen of India until Queen Victoria assumed the complete rule in 1858. She ruled, for a time, most wisely, and although she had ascended the throne without the countenance of the prime minister, or of the governors of the outlying districts, she was able to become mistress of her kingdom, and to earn for herself the manly title of "Sultan." Unfortunately, she was not equally wise where her heart was concerned, and disgusted her generals by showing favour to an Abyssinian slave, whom she made master of her horse, and also master of her heart. Probably she could not have pleased every one in her choice of a consort, but this action put all against her, and rebellion was not long in breaking out. In 1239 the governor of Sirhind took the field against her; she was defeated, and her Abyssinian lover was killed, in the battle which ensued. The victor took her as wife, but the other generals would not brook this. They combined together, with the result that she and her new husband were defeated, and had to fly, but were overtaken and put to death in A.D. 1240. Her grave is now pointed out near the Turkman Gate of the modern city, and the river once flowed close by.

Her brother, **Muiz-ud-din Bahram Shah**, succeeded, but he was miserably weak, as his father had foreseen, and the nobles revolted against him also, eventually murdering him in A.D. 1242; he was buried near his brothers at Malikpur.

A son-in-law of the old king ascended the throne, but was deposed, on the evening of his coronation day, by **Ala-ud-din Musaud Shah**, son of

Rukn-ud-din, and grandson of Altamsh. His reign was a little longer than that of Bahram Shah, but was a troubled one, marked by two Moghal invasions; on the approach of the defending armies they retired. The king, considering himself safe, began to indulge in debauchery, injustice, and oppression, until the usual revolt deposed him in 1246, and he ended his days in prison. His tomb is unknown.

The family of Altamsh was not yet exhausted, and a third son, **Nasr-ud-din Mahmud Ghorî**, came to the throne. He seems to have been a kindly man, better fitted for a hermitage than for a palace, but he had an excellent minister, Balban, who was also a very efficient general, and faithfully served his master, an uncommon thing in those days. The sultan esteemed his minister so highly that he actually married his daughter. Thanks to Balban, the kingdom of Delhi was now in a most flourishing condition, frequent expeditions meeting with entire success, and the borders being extended. The invading Moghals were repulsed, and lesser princes found a refuge from them in Delhi. The grandson of Changiz Khan, Hulagu, after taking Baghdad and overthrowing the khalifate, sent an embassy to Mahmud, in 1259. On this occasion an army was drawn up for review, consisting of fifty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, with many war-elephants. As the envoy moved towards the palace he found, at the city gate, some stuffed skins of Hindus. The scene in the king's darbar was a brilliant one, many Hindu rajas and refugee princes, in magnificent attire, standing

round the throne. The walls of Delhi saw a hostile army, under a revolted vassal, in 1257, but the wise minister was on the alert against treason within, the gates were closed, and the traitors fled when the royal army sallied out.

Mahmud was a simple liver, made his queen cook for him, and kept no female slaves, but he did not disdain to build himself a new palace; this was on the banks of the Jumna, near Kilokri, but was probably a small one; his successors added to it. He died in A.D. 1266, after a reign of twenty years, leaving no male issue; and what more natural than that the minister, who had preserved the kingdom, should now mount the throne in the White Palace at Old Delhi? Ibn Batuta, writing seventy years after, declares that he murdered his master.

**Ghias-ud-din Balban**, or **Ulagh Khan**, had been a slave, for he was made prisoner by the Moghals, whom he therefore had good reason to dislike. After various vicissitudes an agent of Altamsh bought him in a lot of a hundred slaves, and carried him to Delhi. According to Ibn Batuta, Balban was a miserable-looking creature, and Altamsh refused to take him. Balban then plucked up courage to ask him, "Why have you bought all these slaves?" Altamsh replied with a smile, "For my own sake, without doubt." Whereupon Balban said, "Then buy me for the sake of God," and Altamsh good-naturedly agreed to do so. He was not considered good-looking enough to be anything but a cup-bearer, but he joined a confederacy of forty slaves; by their efforts and his

own talents he raised himself to the highest place in the kingdom.

Unfortunately, he now had to put out of the way all the survivors of this confederacy, but after this he reigned with justice and mercy. He bears a great name for generosity, and assigned princely allowances to fifteen petty sovereigns who sought his protection against the Moghals. He kept up great pomp and magnificence at his court, but was himself free from the vices so common among the monarchs of those days. A great sportsman, he kept his army engaged, and in good fighting trim, by making them beat for him while he was out hunting. Yet he could not prevent internal rebellion nor Moghal invasion; all attempts, however, came to naught in face of his good generalship, and that of his sons. Amongst other rebellions, which he quelled with a ruthless hand, was one among the Mewatis, a Rajput tribe, occupying the country to the south of Delhi. Nightly they plundered the suburbs, and were a source of great annoyance, but they were almost exterminated, and the remainder were forcibly converted to Islam; Mahommedan they remain to this day.

While he was still minister, he built a Red palace, which is said to have been in Old Delhi. Another account places it near the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, within a fort called Marzgan, which was built by Balban, and was sometimes called Ghiaspur. No traces, however, remain, either of palace or fort, which may have been on the old river bank. He died in A.D. 1287, and his tomb,

a complete ruin, is near the Jamali Masjid. It was called the Dar-ul-Amar and, by some, Marzgan.

Balban had selected for the succession one of his grandsons, Kai Khusru; but an intrigue placed another grandson, **Muiz-ud-din Kai Kubad**, on the throne. The principal noble had conceived a strong enmity to Kai Khusru, and had recourse to stratagem to supplant him. He forged a letter, purporting to be the decision of the other nobles, and stating that they had elected Kai Kubad king; with this he repaired to Kai Khusru by night, and advised him to escape. To this counsel Kai Khusru was foolish enough to listen; he was passed out of the city by the treacherous noble, who forthwith went to Kai Kubad, acquainted him of the stratagem, and proclaimed him emperor.

This prince had many good parts, had a considerable taste for literature, and had been very strictly brought up, but now he gave himself up to the full enjoyment of pleasure, would not attend to the affairs of the kingdom, and retired to the palace at Kilokri (near Humayun's tomb) in the company of those who could best minister to his pleasures. He did not desire to be bothered with State matters; any one who would relieve him of his power was welcome to it. The Moghals thought this a favourable hour for a fresh invasion, but they were defeated, and then the foolish king was persuaded to order a general massacre of the Moghal mercenaries in his employ. The employment of Moghals in Indian armies was quite a usual practice in those days.

Kai Kubad's father had all this while been Viceroy of Bengal, content to be the vassal of his own son. He now endeavoured to awake him to a sense of his duty, and succeeded, but Kai Kubad's repentance was short-lived, and fresh pleasures alone filled his mind. Such a state of affairs could have but one end, in the shape of revolt. Shaista Khan, Governor of Samana and prime minister, advanced on Delhi, and at this moment the king succumbed to his bad habits, and became paralyzed. An infant son was placed on the throne, but the sons of Shaista Khan boldly cut their way through the royal army, and carried off the young prince. The avenging force, issuing through the Budaon Gate, was restrained from pursuit by fear of his assassination by his captors. Meanwhile an assassin had been sent to Kilokri, and Kai Kubad had been murdered; his body was thrown out of the palace window on to the sands of the river below. Shaista Khan ascended the throne, and the infant prince was put to death soon afterwards; this happened in A.D. 1290.

Shaista Khan was one of the Khiljis, (a tribe occupying part of Central Asia, in the vicinity of Ghor) and the dynasty which followed is known by this name. He was seventy years of age when he mounted the throne in the White Palace, and assumed the name of **Jalal-ud-din**. After the murder of the young prince, and the removal of a possible rival, he ruled with great lenity, his only other reprehensible act being the murder of a mulla. The mulla appealed to him for mercy, but he hesitated to pardon him; as a rule, however, he

hesitated to punish. The death of the mulla was followed by a fearful famine in Delhi.

When the king was in Delhi he occupied the Red Palace of Balban, but he did not care to reside within the walls, apparently distrusting the inhabitants, who, however, soon became reconciled to his rule. He usually resided at Kilokri, building there a Green Palace, in addition to enlarging and beautifying the existing palace of his predecessor. His nobles also built houses in the vicinity, but all have crumbled into dust.

The lenity of Jalal-ud-din was little appreciated, for robbers increased in number, and the Moghals again invaded in great strength; the king was uniformly successful against them, but did not follow up his successes or adequately punish the evil-doers. His nephew, Ala-ud-din, was ruthless enough, and added large territories to the kingdom, on which he now set his heart. The king was old, but the slow approach of a natural death was not what Ala-ud-din desired, so intrigues were set on foot, the king was induced to visit the camp at Karra, and, as he grasped the hand of his nephew, he was murdered, in a boat on the Ganges, in the year 1296. His tomb at Delhi is mentioned by Firoze Shah, but no trace remains.

**Ala-ud-din**, also called Sikandar Sani (the second Alexander), though crowned at Karra, was not to ascend the throne at Delhi without at least a show of force, for the widow of Jalal-ud-din placed her son on the throne in the Green Palace at Kilokri. But when the army of Ala-ud-din encamped outside the north-east gate of Old Delhi,

after a march in the rainy season, there was only a parade in battle array, and the opposing army was withdrawn within the walls. Desertions naturally followed, and Ala-ud-din was able to enter in triumph; he proceeded to the Red Palace of Balban, where he ascended the throne. To please his subjects he distributed largess from catapults, and organized games, thus becoming the object of admiration, instead of detestation of a murderer. His rival cousin had fled to Multan, but was there invested; he was captured, brought to Delhi with his brother, blinded, and soon afterwards murdered in prison at Hansi.

Once again the Moghals invaded the Punjab, once again they were defeated with great loss, and a massacre of prisoners followed at Delhi, women and children not being spared. On returning from an expedition into Guzerat in 1297, the mercenary Moghal soldiery revolted, but they were defeated, and the king, who had remained at Delhi, ordered a wholesale massacre of their families, who occupied a suburb called Moghalpur.

These proceedings awakened the resentment of the Moghals beyond the frontier, who, after sustaining one defeat, advanced in a great horde to the vicinity of Delhi. This was a business for the king to lead with, for no one else would undertake the task, although the streets were filled with refugees, and panic and famine raged. He therefore marched out of the Budaon Gate with a vast army, drew it up on the plains beyond the suburbs which stretched to the north-east, and joined battle



with complete success, although the pursuit was not carried out with vigour, owing to jealousy among his generals.

Ala-ud-din now proceeded to extend his dominions. He had hardly set out, when he was severely wounded in a treacherous attempt at assassination; fortunately he had the strength to appear before his army, who acclaimed him, and the would-be supplanter had to flee. But more rebellion followed, and on one occasion the rebels managed to seize a great portion of Delhi. All attempts, however, ended in failure, and no pardon was ever extended to any of those who took part, even their families being put to death. At last, in A.D. 1300, the king began to think that he himself might be to blame for the frequent conspiracies against him, and, on the advice of a council of nobles, relaxed his severities. He contemplated the formation of a new religion, and therefore saw that his nobles reformed their ways, not to his disadvantage, for he confiscated their ill-gotten gains.

While he was away from Delhi, on an expedition into the Deccan near Warangal, the Moghals saw their chance, and raided right up to the walls. Ala-ud-din hastened back, but had to leave his cavalry behind. He could do nothing but entrench his army round Shahpur, and send urgent messages to the provincial governors for reinforcements. The Moghals were, however, in a position to intercept these, and matters looked very black until, after two months of inaction, the Moghals

suddenly retired, some say in a panic brought about by the miraculous powers of Nizam-ud-din, the saint. This was in 1303. Upon the retirement of the invaders Ala-ud-din commenced the building of the city of Siri, the erection within it of a "palace of a thousand pillars," and the repair or reconstruction of the walls of the citadel of Old Delhi. He also prepared to punish the Moghals, and began to collect a vast army for the purpose. He is said to have been able to put 475,000 horse into the field, but the expense of keeping them overtaxed the prosperity of his kingdom.

Nothing daunted, the Moghals again advanced, but Tughlak, one of Ala-ud-din's generals, defeated them with great slaughter. Many chiefs were taken prisoners and sent to Delhi to be trodden to death by elephants. Again and again, in 1305 and 1306, the Moghal hordes crossed swords with Tughlak, but only to send more captives to be slaughtered at Delhi; their heads were piled in heaps or built into the foundations of new buildings. When their continued ill-success caused them to desist, war was carried into their own country, and the fame of Tughlak grew with each of his twenty-nine victories.

Another general of Ala-ud-din, Malik Kafur, was very successful in the south at Devagiri in 1306, and is supposed even to have attained to Rameswaram in 1310, but this is unlikely. He had been a slave, for whom the king had paid a thousand dinars. He returned from Bengal with rich spoils, which he laid at the feet of his master as he

sat at the Budaon Gate. An expedition into the Deccan to Warangal, an ancient Buddhist city, in 1309, was even more successful, the royal booty being enormous, while the private soldiers threw away silver, as being too cumbersome. It is said that the king distributed a portion of the spoils, so that the sum-total must have been very great indeed. But his displeasure fell on the Moghal mercenaries, and he discharged them. Some, who were in great need, and almost starving, conspired against him, with the result that a wholesale massacre was ordered, in which fifteen thousand perished, and none were spared.

Ala-ud-din was now at the zenith of his power, and devoted himself to the building of monuments, amongst others the unfinished minar, which was to have been double the height of the other, and yet perhaps not sufficiently high to represent his overweening pride. But now he fell sick, Malik Kafur began to intrigue against him, rebellion broke out in the Deccan and in Guzerat. The king, unable to repress it himself, and seeing his general defeated, died of his disorder, aggravated by rage and grief, in A.D. 1316. He was buried in his palace, now in ruins, at the south-west of the Kuwwat-ul-Islam Mosque.

Ferishta well says of him, "If we look upon the policy of Ala-ud-din, a great king arises to our view. If we behold his hands, which are red, an inexorable tyrant appears. He began in cruelty, and waded through blood to the end," enlisting in his designs, we may add, elephants, which he armed

with dreadful weapons, so that they might torture the wretched victims of his wrath, But yet "his pomp, wealth, and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindustan."

## CHAPTER IX.

### TUGHLAK TO BABAR.

On the death of Ala-ud-din, Malik Kafur raised to the throne the youngest son, **Shahab-ud-din Omar**, with a view to controlling the kingdom himself as regent. To this end he produced a spurious will of the deceased monarch, but his inhuman cruelties, directed against the other sons of Ala-ud-din, caused the commander of the guards to plot against him, and assassinate him. Firoze Shah was of opinion that Malik Kafur was a faithful servant, and restored his tomb, but history dwells rather on his cruelties. The puppet king was now deposed, and the third son of the late king, **Kutb-ud-din Mubarik Shah**, was released from prison and from the instant fear of being blinded. He gained over all the nobles and ascended the throne, depriving his brother of any chance of regaining the throne by blinding him, for a blind man was ever considered unfit to be sultan.

The king now proceeded to indulge in dissipation, and is actually reported to have dressed himself as a dancing-girl, and to have performed in the houses of the nobility. But he undertook an expedition to Devagiri (Daulatabad) in 1318 when he flayed alive the captured prince. He then raised to power one Khusru Khan, a Hindu renegade, and would listen to no cautions against his favourite, with the almost inevitable result that Khusru

plotted against his life and kingdom. The plot was only too successful, and the wretched king was murdered in a scuffle, in which Khusru took the principal part. This king completed the walls of Old Delhi, the repairs of which were commenced by his father, but no other work of his remains. His grave was repaired, amongst others of the sons of Ala-ud-din, by Firoze Shah; it was probably within his father's mausoleum, for none of his successors can have erected one in his honour.

The murder of the king took place in A.D. 1320, and **Khusru Khan** seated himself on his throne, forcibly marrying his widow, Dewal Devi, a Hindu princess. He assumed the ridiculous title (for a ruffian, who was renegade only for his own ends, and despised his adopted creed) of Nasr-ud-din, or supporter of religion. But not for long was he allowed to occupy the throne, for he disgusted every one by using the Koran for a seat, he prohibited the slaughter of cattle, and reverted to his former religion. Tughlak, therefore, advanced on Delhi, with an army which had been trained by constant war against the Moghals. The force sent against him by Khusru was easily dispersed, and Tughlak appeared before the walls, the usurper drawing out his army, and entrenching it near the Hauz Khas. In spite of liberal largess, his troops began to desert him, and an action, though partly successful, made it clear that his was a lost cause. Khusru therefore fled towards Tilpat, his adherents dropping away as he went, and he was found on the following day concealed in a tomb, whence he was dragged to his death, which none regretted.

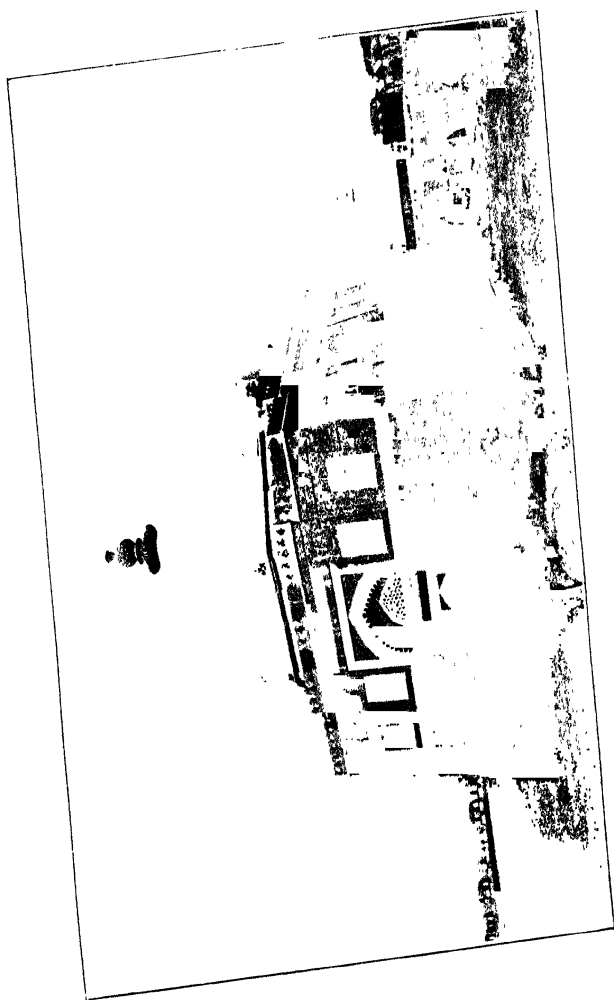
The keys of the capital were delivered to the victor, and, when he inquired if there was any prince of the previous dynasty alive, he was hailed as king. Thus commenced another dynasty, in 1320.

**Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Shah** had commenced life as a slave, and had been brought from Khorasan to Delhi in the time of Ala-ud-din. As we have seen, he was appointed "Warden of the Marches," and had showed excellent generalship; he was also Governor of Dipalpur and Lahore. Soon after his accession he commenced the new city of Tughlukabad. While engaged in building it an army sent by him to the Deccan was dispersed by a rumour that he had died, some declaring that they had seen him buried. The men who started the rumour were caught and sent to Delhi, where the sarcastic old king ordered them to be buried alive. In 1323 he took the field, and made an expedition into Bengal and to another sack of Warangal; while he was away, his son Juna, left viceroy at Delhi, plotted against him, encouraged by a prophecy of the saint, Nizam-ud-din Aulia. As Tughlak approached Delhi, Juna invited him to rest in a pavilion erected at Afghanpur, and constructed in such a manner as to fall down if an elephant pressed against one of the pillars. Juna induced the favourite son to sit beside his father, and the elephants approached, with the result that the pavilion fell on those seated within, and crushed them to death.

Ibn Batuta says that the elephants were made to go up the steps to salute the king, so perhaps







the whole structure toppled over; some, however, attributed the disaster to lightning, for to accuse Juna definitely with the deed might have met with awkward consequences. The manner of compassing this murder reminds us of the way in which the death of Agrippina was attempted by Nero, it being arranged that the heavy canopy of a boat should fall on her.

Tughlak Shah died in 1325, and was buried outside his new city, in the outwork which he had constructed in the lake close by. His tomb is said by some to have been erected by his son Juna.

Juna Khan proceeded from Tughlukabad to Old Delhi, in order there to ascend the throne after the usual custom, assuming the title of **Mahomed Ibn Tughlak**. He is generally known as the "Khuni Sultan," or "Bloody King," for his cruelty was terrible. In many ways he resembled Nero, for, in spite of being a parricide, he seems to have had high aspirations and accomplishments, but relapsed from time to time into an insatiable lust for blood. He is said to have flayed his conquered enemies alive, and to have borne the name "Lord of skins of kings." He was a great patron of literature, a founder of colleges, a great builder, a good general; but while the suburbs of Delhi owed him protecting walls, he more than counterbalanced this by forcing the inhabitants to leave. He seems almost at once to have abandoned his father's city, although he built a fort close by, which contained a "palace of a thousand pillars," and was called Adilabad.

In the first year of his reign the cities of Delhi saw an invading horde of Moghals at their gates.

and the suburbs were plundered freely. Mahomed had not the army to drive them off, but he somehow had money, and a heavy ransom induced the enemy to retire; Nizam-ud-din had probably died just previously. In 1328 he surrounded the suburbs between Siri and Old Delhi with walls, calling the city thus formed *Jahan panah*, or the "shelter of the world." He now got together an enormous army, and overran many countries, even contemplating an invasion of China, but the troops sent on that expedition perished, almost to a man, in the Himalayas. About 1333 he re-conquered Bengal.

During an expedition to the Deccan Mahomed was much struck with the advantages of Deogiri, and determined to found a new capital, having conquered the Deccan to the borders of the present State of Mysore. He therefore, in 1338, ordered the inhabitants of Delhi to move there in a body, and, in order to make the journey more pleasant, he had trees planted all along the road. A revolt at Multan soon brought him back, and the people were also allowed to return, but in 1340 they had again to set out six hundred miles, for Deogiri, and he saw that they had no inducement to remain by burning their houses. His troops, searching by his orders, found only a blind man and a cripple left; the latter was flung from a catapult, the former dragged along until his legs dropped off. In 1342 a dreadful famine raged in the Deccan, and the people were again permitted to return; but the famine was just as bad in Delhi, and men even ate each other, the famine continuing for two years,

until the people petitioned to be allowed to migrate. In 1345 Delhi was again populated, and the inhabitants were allowed to remain undisturbed.

In 1343 an emissary had come from Egypt, as the result of a long negotiation, and brought with him a diploma from the descendant of the Abbasside khalifas. The last of the Caliphs had been conquered by Hulagu at Baghdad in 1258. Mahomed, great-grandson of the penultimate caliph came to Delhi and was received with great respect, being named Makhdumzada, "the Master's Son." He emigrated later to Sumatra. Mahomed Ibn Tughlak conceived himself only now to be a rightful king, and ordered that those of his predecessors who had not received such sanction should not be mentioned in the "khatbah." Thus the names of all his predecessors, as far back as Altamsh, were struck out, including even his own father. Egypt, it may be mentioned, passed under Turkish rule early in the sixteenth century, but there is no Sultan of Turkey for Mahomedans to look to as their spiritual head.

All this time, east, south, west, and north, rebellion was rife, but was invariably put down with a strong hand, and punished with barbarous severity. In 1347 the Deccan revolted and became independent of Delhi for two centuries, during which the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar rose and fell to ruin. At length Mahomed had to undertake an expedition into Sind, and there he died, on the Indus, near Tatta, in A.D. 1351. Ferishta sums up his reign with the remark that "he seems to have laboured, with no contemptible abilities, to be

detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men." His extraordinary character caused him to be regarded as superhuman.

Mahomed Tughlak left no son, so his generals elected to the throne **Firoze Shah Tughlak**, a nephew of the founder of the dynasty, and son of a Hindu princess. He had been educated and brought up by his uncle, and had enjoyed the special favour of his cousin, favour for which he was not ungrateful. He caused the relatives of those whom his cousin had visited with cruelty, mutilation, or death, to be sought out, gave them compensation, obtained their acquittances, and placed the deeds in the grave, so that Mahomed, when he rises at the last day to proceed to judgment, might be able to show the acquittances to his Maker; in the grave the deeds may be resting to this day.

Firoze Shah had at once to meet invading Moghals, whom he defeated. He then proceeded to Delhi, where he was met by the submissive inhabitants, whom he feasted and entertained on a large scale. He then had, as usual, to consolidate his kingdom, in the course of which work he twice moved into Bengal, and twice into Sind. On his return from his first Bengal expedition, he commenced, in 1354, his new city of Firozabad. Two years later, he ordered the cutting of the first canal of the many which now water the plains of India, and relieve the inhabitants of fear of famine. He may be called the "Father" of the Irrigation Department, for, alive to the advantages to his people of the water, he instituted a revenue system

and appointed officials to collect it. His army he recruited from the sons and relatives of those of his soldiers who had to retire from age or infirmity, a system which largely obtains to-day.

Although not a great king, indeed rather a weak one, Firoze Shah was one of the most enlightened rulers that India has seen, kingly, courteous, and liberal, even if he had faults in religious bigotry, and an undue affection for wine. He endowed many colleges and hospitals, laid out gardens and vineyards, and repaired the tombs and monuments of his predecessors. He instituted the practice, copied afterwards by the Moghal emperors, of having three courts of audience, the outermost for the general public, the innermost for nobles and ministers of State, and the intermediate one for personal attendants and the better classes of the people. The Egyptian khalifa, unsolicited, sent him a robe of honour, and others for his son and for his minister.

He was a great sportsman also, and within his park, on the Ridge, he had a hunting-seat, a darbar hall (on the top of which there was a chiming clock), and a menagerie, with a small collection of "freaks." Many mosques were built during his reign, some by his minister Khan Jahan, a Hindu convert. The number includes the Chauburji Mosque, on the Ridge; the Kalan Masjid; the Jama Masjid, in his kotila; the Sanjar and Jamat Khana Mosques, near the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Aulia; the Begampur Mosque, and the Khirki Mosque. The Kadam Sharif enclosure also dates from his reign, as does the shrine of Roshan Chiragh Delhi.

Altogether, it was a time of busy building, and the total population of Delhi must have been very great, for the old cities were not abandoned when Firozabad was occupied. He died in A.D. 1388, and was buried by the Hauz Khas of Ala-ud-din.

There is a Hindi proverb to the effect that "human beings differ in their constitution; while the one is a diamond, the next is but a common stone." To say that Firoze Shah was a diamond is, perhaps, to go too far, but his immediate successors were, by comparison, of no account. Firoze Shah was succeeded by his grandson, **Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Shah II**, but he was shortly afterwards killed by the adherents of **Abu Bakr Shah**, his cousin. This king managed to establish himself in Firozabad, but his rule extended no further. The streets often saw fighting between his troops and those of Mahomed Shah, his uncle, whom Firoze Shah had at one time associated with himself as king. At length intrigues resulted in the deposition of Abu Bakr and the proclamation of **Mahomed Shah** as king, but he died shortly afterwards, and was buried with his father. The next king, **Sikandar Shah**, only reigned forty days, and then succumbed to a violent disorder in 1393.

The death of this king found no definite claimant to the throne, and the nobles decided on **Mahmud**, son of the late Mahomed Shah. His power was visionary for a considerable time, and once he was actually shut out of, and had to lay siege to, his capital of Old Delhi. When he had reoccupied that city, intrigues lost him the city of Firozabad, where a rival king, **Nasr-ud-din Nasrit Shah**, was set up.

For about four years the plains between these two cities were witness of frequent engagements. First one, then the other, got the advantage, and a perfectly astonishing state of affairs prevailed, which would take too long to describe. At length there came on the scene a common enemy, the great Moghal leader, Timur, so well known as Tamerlane.

The invading horde of Moghals crossed the Indus in A.D. 1398, and advanced without difficulty to Panipat. A little below this town Timur crossed the Jumna (probably at Baghpat), occupied the Fort of Loni, opposite Firozabad, and encamped on the east bank of the river. He then, with a body of horse, crossed over and reconnoitred the palace on the Ridge. Having seen what he wanted, and repulsed an attack, he returned, and moved his camp to about where Metcalfe House now stands. It was reported to him that the vast crowd of captives in his camp had watched with delight the attack which had been made on him. So he ordered that all should be put to the sword, lest they might be an embarrassment when the great battle should take place. With such enthusiasm did all take part in this bloody work, that a certain Moulvi killed, with his own hand, fifteen captives, although he had not previously lifted a weapon, even against a sheep.

Timur's army then forded the river, and he entrenched his camp on the plains north of Firozabad, digging a ditch and placing in front of it lines of buffaloes, tied together to break a charge. Two days afterwards, disregarding the protests of the



astrologers, he marched out of this entrenchment and set his troops in battle array about where Safdar Jang's tomb now stands. Perhaps he watched the battle from the Raisina Mound. The Indian army moved to the attack courageously enough. There were twelve thousand horse, forty thousand foot, and the attack was led by a line of elephants, carrying on their backs towers filled with archers and slingers; in the intervals were cross-bowmen. The veteran troops of Timur were considerably dismayed at the sight of the elephants, but firmly met the attack, repulsed it, and pursued the flying enemy to the gates of Old Delhi, which was abandoned during the night.

The next five days were spent by Timur in feasting by the side of the Hauz Khas, but on the 17th of December 1398, a Wednesday, he repaired to the idgah which was in front of the Darwaza-i-Maidan Gate, towards the Hauz Khas. There he received the submission of the principal inhabitants of the three cities, to whom he promised protection of life and property. The imperial standard was set up over the principal gate; two days after that, the Moulvi pronounced from the pulpit of the cathedral mosque of Firozabad the names and titles of the conquerors.

But while this was going on the people were being put to the sword. Some of Timur's ladies had ridden into the city of Jahanpanah to inspect the "Palace of a Thousand Pillars." The people feared an attack by the escort, and themselves brought on a scuffle, which resulted in a massacre for three whole days. A band of Hindus took

refuge in the mosque of Old Delhi, but found no sanctuary there, for on the fourth day they were slaughtered, and not one was spared. At length the massacre ceased; those who survived, and had not fled, were parted among the victors as slaves, and Timur reserved for himself all the stone-masons. He then entered Old Delhi and took possession of twelve rhinoceroses, and the remainder of a menagerie, which had been collected by Firoze Shah.

On the last day of 1398, Timur marched to Firozabad and inspected the Jama Masjid in the kotila of Firoze Shah, with which he was delighted. He was here presented with two white parrots, supposed to be seventy-four years old, which had been transferred from one king to the next since the days of Tughlak Shah. Timur then returned to Samarkand.

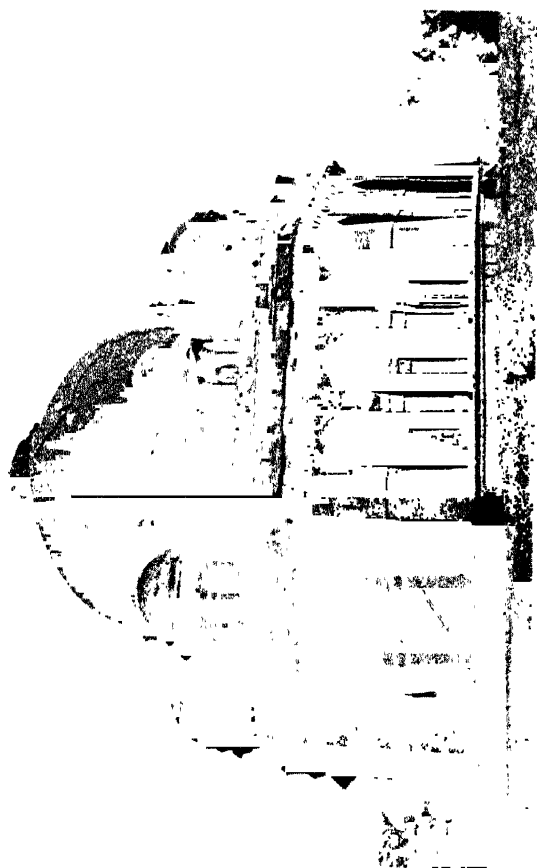
After two months of anarchy Nasrit Shah crept back and took possession of the spoiled cities, almost destitute of inhabitants, who, however, soon began to return. He was shortly afterwards driven out by one of the nobles, Ikbāl Khan, who occupied Delhi, while the provinces were partitioned among other nobles. Guzerat had been independent since 1396. Mahmud then returned, at the invitation of Ikbāl, but foolishly deserted his only supporter, and was unable to resume the throne until he was summoned by Daulat Khan Lodi, after Ikbāl Khan had been killed in action. In 1407 Mahmud was besieged in Firozabad by a revolted noble, Khizr Khan, but held out until the siege was raised for want of supplies. In 1411 he had again to shut

himself up, this time in Siri, while Firozabad was occupied by the same enemy, but the siege was again raised. Mahmud died at last, in A.D. 1412, after a reign of over twenty years, without a shadow of power, and with an experience of ill-fortune such as has been the lot of few kings.

The nobles now elected **Daulat Khan Lodi**, but he was almost immediately besieged in the city of Siri by stronger forces than he had available. He had to surrender, after reigning a year, to **Khizr Khan**, thus successful at the third attempt; with him commences the dynasty of the Sayyads. For some reason or other, this king considered himself a vassal of Timur, and without solicitation sent tribute to Samarkand. He built, in 1418, a fort called Khizrabad, of which no trace remains; it may have been near Okhla. Otherwise his reign of seven years contains no event of interest. He died in 1421, and his mausoleum used to stand at Okhla, but was removed to make room for the Agra Canal.

**Mubarik Shah**, who succeeded, had a stormy reign, and was not often at Delhi, but towards the end of his reign, in 1433, he ordered the building of a new city on the bank of the river, to be called Mubarikabad. It was, however, never destined to be finished, for a plot was made against the king, and he was assassinated in the mosque which he had built within the lines of his city; his mausoleum also is there.

The last of the Sayyad dynasty was **Mahomed Shah**, son of Farid Khan, and grandson of Khizr Khan, the founder of the dynasty. His reign also was a troubled one, and sieges of the different cities



TOWER OF MAHOMET SHALE.



of Delhi were common. In 1435 he was shut up in Siri, and was nearly murdered, only escaping by admitting the besiegers by the Baghdad Gate. In 1440 the King of Malwa invested Delhi, but was defeated by the valorous Bahlol Lodi, and retired. In 1441, however, Bahlol turned his powerful army against his master, and besieged him in Old Delhi for some months, but then had to abandon the enterprise. Mahomed died in 1445, and his tomb is one of the finest of the period; it is near the village of Khairpur.

The son of Mahomed, **Alam Shah**, can hardly be termed a king, for Delhi was almost his only possession, and that he resigned for Badaon, where he abdicated in A.D. 1450, on condition that he should not be disturbed. So weak was he that he could not keep a yard of country south of Old Delhi, the village of Mahrauli and the Lado Sarai being in the hands of the Mewatis.

Another dynasty was now started by **Bahlol Lodi**, an Afghan, of what is now the Lohani tribe, whose name we have noticed in the reign of Mahomed Shah; he it was, also, who drove out Alam Shah. He consolidated his power by the imprisonment of the minister who had acquiesced in his coming to the throne, but he spared his life, which was great generosity for those days. There were, however, other and equally strong claimants, and one, the King of Jaunpur, laid siege to Delhi in 1452, while Bahlol was absent. The siege was soon raised, mainly through intrigue, a principal noble being detached from the side of the besiegers, during an action, at a place thirty miles north of

Delhi. Bahlol thus regained his capital, and none of the many expeditions made against the place by enemies got as far as the walls, although one army seems to have reached the Bhattiara Fort, somewhere to the west. Towards the end of his reign Bahlol did not feel equal to continuing the constant struggle, and therefore divided up his kingdom among his enemies, retaining for his son only Delhi and some surrounding districts. He died in A.D. 1488, and was buried in his own garden, opposite the enclosure of Roshan Chiragh Delhi.

Nizam Khan, **Sikandar Lodi**, succeeded his father, but not without a fight, for the Afghan nobles did not approve of the fact that he was son of a Hindu lady, the daughter of a goldsmith, and therefore not of noble blood. His rival was his cousin, but he managed to defeat him, and generously forgave him. Many expeditions followed, so that Sikandar was not able to return to Delhi until 1490, and there he could only halt for three weeks before he had to march again, in order to repress insurrection. He then spent years in other parts, and in 1504 took a dislike to Delhi, because of the great sickness which had followed the heat of the previous year. He appointed a small commission to proceed down the River Jumna and select a site for a new city. In their report they recommended Agra, and there he founded a capital, which, in the following year, was destroyed by a violent earthquake. He did not, however, abandon Agra, but rebuilt it, and it remained the capital of Sikandar and of his successors until the days of Shah Jahan. No king, however, was considered

properly crowned unless he ascended the throne at Delhi.

Sikandar died at Agra in 1518, but his body was taken to Delhi and buried there, near Khairpur. He seems to have spent very little of his long reign at Delhi, but he laid out a considerable sum in the repair of the ancient monuments, such as the Kutb Minar and the tomb of Firoze Shah. At the commencement of his reign there was built the Mothki-Masjid, which is said to have been built out of funds provided by the sale of crops of pulse, originating from a single seed.

Sikandar was succeeded by his son, **Ibrahim Lodi**, who ascended the throne at Agra. He was a man of very haughty temperament, and made his nobles stand in front of him with their hands folded in a servile manner. This they would not brook, for the Afghans considered that the king was only the principal noble, and entitled to the throne only so long as they chose. This fact accounts for the curious state of affairs, which existed from now onwards, until the Moghals had firmly established an empire, a thing they could not have done had not each Afghan noble considered his own interests only. Ibrahim's reign was one long struggle against his nobles, until, in A.D. 1525, even his brother Ala-ud-din took the field against him, and invested Delhi with a large force. Ibrahim, however, aided by fortune, managed to relieve the city, so Ala-ud-din, retiring to the Punjab, called in Babar, the Moghal chief. Previously to this a **brazen bull**, taken in an expedition to the south,



had been set up opposite the Baghdad Gate of Siri.

Here we may commence a new chapter, in the course of which we shall see Delhi rise to the zenith of its splendour.



MOGHAL EMPERORS.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE SPLENDOUR OF THE MOGHALS.

We have seen that the Moghals had persistently invaded India, from the days of Altamsh onward, with very little success, having often to retreat hurriedly. Timur inflicted a severe defeat on Mahmud Shah, and occupied the capital, but even he did not remain, and left the country to fall into a state of anarchy. A new kingdom had been built up by the Lodi kings out of the ruins, but the jealousy of the brother of Ibrahim Lodi caused him to call in Babar to his aid. The Moghals did not have matters all their own way, for the Afghan nobles were not the men to resign a fair heritage without a struggle, but from now onwards, with a short interregnum, Babar and his descendants were Kings of Delhi until the last of the House of Timur died a deported prisoner in Rangoon, after an English Empress had been proclaimed.

**Zahir-ud-din Mahomed Babar** has been described by Elphinstone as "the most admirable prince that ever reigned in Asia." He has also been called "the Cæsar of the East." He was descended on his mother's side from Changiz Khan, and belonged to the Chagitai branch of the Moghal tribe. He was at this time King of Cabul, since 1504, and had already undertaken four expeditions into India, but had always been recalled by trouble in his own kingdom, and had not penetrated

further than Lahore. A tradition exists that he went in disguise as far as Delhi, was arrested and released by Sikandar Lodi on condition that he would not invade India again during Sikandar's lifetime, but this cannot be true. He now seized the opportunity of carrying out a cherished project, and crossed the Indus, for the fifth time, in 1526, with a comparatively small force, numbering scarcely twelve thousand men. He had, however, artillery, superintended by a Turk. "Bombardas" are mentioned as in use at Vijayanagar in 1420; 400 guns were with Ismail Adil Shah at the battle of Raichur in 1520; the Hindus also had cannons and rockets, but the Indian army appears to have had none at Panipat. Manucci says that artillery was invented in Europe in 1380 by Bertoldo Nigro, a German, and there is a fine German gun, dated 1404, at the Invalides in Paris.

Babar advanced rapidly, against little opposition, until Ibrahim advanced to Panipat to stop him, with an enormous army, including 1,500 elephants. Babar remarks that it might have been much larger had Ibrahim not been so parsimonious, for the wealth left to him by his father, Sikandar, was very great. However this may be, the army he had collected must have seemed to him sufficient to overwhelm Babar's little force, but the result proved otherwise. Ibrahim was not much of a general, and drew up his army in one long line, expecting that the shock of one charge would be quite sufficient, but the Moghals stoutly withstood the charge, and bodies held in reserve made counter-attacks, which threw the Indian army into

confusion. Ibrahim, whose personal courage was without reproach, died fighting in a last charge, and five thousand dead lay around the spot where his body was found. The losses of his army exceeded sixteen thousand.

Babar quickly followed up his victory, and hurried forward his son Humayun to Agra, the capital of Ibrahim. He himself marched on Delhi, and entered that city on April 24, 1526, four days after the battle. He had previously sent forward a detachment to secure the treasure, which is said to have included the Kohinur diamond, and to prevent plunder. Of his visit to Delhi he gives an account in his most interesting Memoirs; he mentions the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, that of Kutb-ud-din, the Hauz-i-Shamsi (which is close to the latter), and the Hauz Khas. He visited also the palace of Ala-ud-din and "his minaret," the tombs and gardens of Bahlol and Sikandar. He then embarked on a boat, and dropped down the river to Agra, drinking "arrack" which presumably he tasted for the first time. He was, however, well acquainted with the delights of the cup, and his ideas were well stated in his own words, "Enjoy freely, O Babar, for life is not twice to be enjoyed."

Babar never returned to Delhi, but died in Agra on December 26th, 1530. His remains were borne through on their journey to Cabul, after they had been interred for a time at Agra. Humayun, his son, had previously returned to Cabul; on his way he had broken open the treasury at Delhi, and had helped himself, to the great indignation of his father, who wrote him a severe lecture.

**Nasr-ud-din Mahomed Humayun** succeeded his father in A.D. 1530, but at once resigned, to his brother Kamran, the provinces beyond the Indus, the Punjab, and Hissar-Firoza. Although he thus saved himself a certain amount of trouble, he lost a recruiting-ground, and by this he was embarrassed, since the Afghan nobles were not by any means tamed. The visits of Humayun to Delhi were few and far between, for his presence was constantly required elsewhere, to repress revolts in the provinces, especially in Bihar, where the Afghan Farid-ud-din Sher Khan had practically made himself independent. Eventually Humayun was twice defeated by him, once by treachery at Chonsa, in 1539, once in fair fight at Kanauj in 1540, escaping from his pursuers with difficulty. But we have omitted to notice one or two important events connected with Delhi, which had occurred before this.

In July 1533 Humayun conceived the building of a new fort at Delhi, which he proposed to call *Din Panah*, "shelter of the faith," and it was pointed out to him by his courtiers, who were mostly astrologers, that this would be a fortunate year in which to commence the enterprise. He therefore proceeded to Delhi, laid the first brick with his own hands, and then sailed down the Jumna to Agra, in a floating palace which he had himself designed.

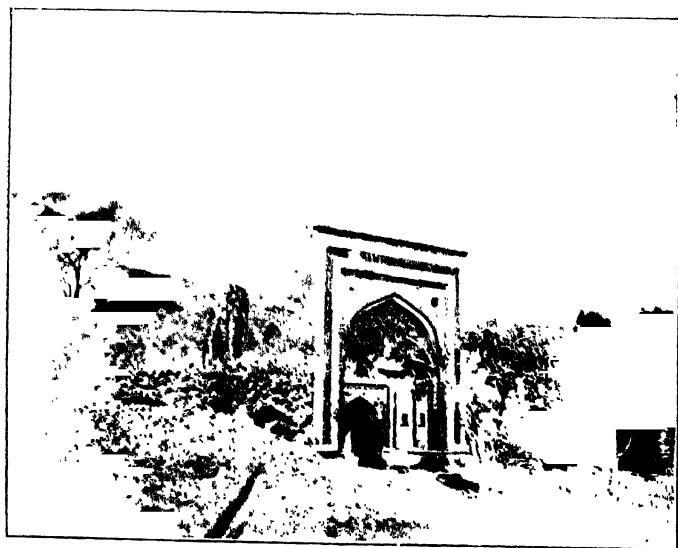
In 1538 Mirza Hindal, brother of Humayun, revolted against him, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Agra, and marched to Delhi, presumably there to ascend the throne in due form. Two faithful nobles, however, anticipated his







WALLS OF SHER SHAH'S DELHI.



COLLEGE OF MAHAM ANAGAH.

arrival by making forced marches, and held Firozabad against him. Kamran, the brother who possessed the Punjab, came to Hindal's aid, but the stout defence of Fakhur-ud-din made them raise the siege. The two brothers then went to Agra, and Humayun might have been deposed, had not a common danger, in the shape of Sher Khan, caused all to combine for safety. Kamran soon abandoned the confederacy and returned to the Punjab, so Humayun moved against Sher Khan alone, but was defeated at Kanauj.

Pursued hotly, Humayun reached Delhi on May 25, 1540, but could not remain, and had to march on into the Punjab, to wander homeless for many a long year, through Sind into Persia, until at length he was able to re-establish a kingdom in Cabul. While in Sind he married, in 1541, Hamida Begam, then only fourteen years of age, and on the 15th of October in the following year there was born to him a son, the great Akbar, at Umarkot, on the confines of the Indian desert. The circumstances of the birth, while the mother was enduring the hardships of a flight, made it necessary to employ foster-mothers, wives of nobles who were accompanying Humayun. Several monuments at Delhi are connected with the foster-relations of Akbar.

Farid-ud-din Sher Khan, having driven out Humayun, ascended the throne in 1540 with the title of **Sher Shah**. Although Agra was his Capital, he commenced to build a wall round part of Firozabad, adjoining the Purana Kila of Humayun; but he cannot have spent many days there, for he was

very busy throughout his short reign in conquering Malwa and other countries. He died in 1545 in the trenches before Kalinjar, a fort in Bengal, and was buried at Sassaram. He built caravan-sarais, at every ten kos distance, all the way from Bengal to the Indus, and had wells dug at each kos; he also caused to be erected "kos minars," many of which stand to this day, although the old road has been ploughed up, and merged in the fields. To Sher Shah, also, are attributed the "Kila Kona" Mosque, and the "Sher Mandal," both in Humayun's fort.

**Islam Shah**, commonly called Salim, now succeeded his father, and like him, made Agra his capital. In 1546, however, he was at Delhi for a short time, and commenced the construction of the fort of Salimgarh; he also ordered the walls of the Purana Kila to be rebuilt in lime. In 1551 he undertook an expedition into the Punjab, and had hardly returned to Delhi when he was informed of the advance of Humayun, to attempt the recovery of his lost kingdom. Islam set out at once, not waiting for bullocks to draw his artillery, which had to be drawn by hand; so heavy were the guns that a thousand men are said to have been required for each. Of course the roads were then not metalled. Humayun would not meet him, but retired, and Islam returned from Lahore to Agra, whence he went to Gwalior, a place which he preferred to either Agra or Delhi. He died in A.D. 1553. Besides his other buildings, he erected an intermediate sarai between every two of his father's, and thus was equally a public benefactor.

On the death of Islam Shah, his son **Firoz Khan** was placed on the throne, but he was at once murdered by Mobarez Khan, cousin of Islam, who ascended the throne with the title of **Mahomed Adil Shah**, "the just king." He had a minister named Himu, a Hindu of humble origin, who had been a small trader at Rewari; of him we shall hear again. But now he had to retire with his master into Bengal, before **Ibrahim Sur**, brother-in-law of Adil Shah. Ibrahim had seized Delhi, and ascended the throne there; but this orthodox coronation was not to save him from deposition, for **Sikandar Shah**, nephew of Sher Shah and Governor of the Punjab, possessed himself of Delhi, and defeated Ibrahim at Farah, near Agra. Thus in a few months, four kings had, in succession, ascended the throne, and three were alive still, warring amongst themselves, at the beginning of 1555.

Humayun, finding India weakened by these internecine struggles, made a second attempt to recover the country, and was successful. He invaded the Punjab, sending his general, Bahram Khan, ahead, and was himself present at the battle of Sirhind, where he defeated Sikandar's large army. He then advanced to Delhi, and reoccupied the place, being proclaimed Emperor, on July 23, 1555, after a stay of three days in Salimgarh.

The few months which elapsed before his death Humayun spent, not in vigorous expeditions, but in the apportioning of the provinces amongst his nobles—a dangerous project in days when each man's hand was for himself. Part of his time, also, he spent in the design of a wonderful astrological

palace, with radiating halls of different colours, called by the names of the planets. In these halls audience was to be given, on corresponding days of the week, to the professions under the guidance of those planets. In fact, although not yet an old man, he was probably not quite sane. His death was due to his astrological studies. One evening he was told that Venus ought to be visible, and he determined, if he saw the planet, to promote certain nobles, as it would be fortunate to do so. He accordingly went to the top of the Sher Mandal, from which he could observe the setting sun; as he was descending he heard the muezzin at the Kila Kona Mosque call to prayer. He therefore sat down on the steps until the call should be finished; when he rose again, he slipped and rolled to the bottom, sustaining a severe wound on his temple. Some say that he was stupefied by an over-dose of opium. The wound was the cause of his death on January 27, 1556; his great grandfather Shaikh Umar, had died by a similar accident, while watching his pigeons.

**Jalal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar Ghazi**, son of Humayun, was away in the Punjab; the events of the past few years had left many claimants to the throne, and the death of Humayun had occurred at a singularly inopportune moment. It was therefore determined to conceal the fact of his death, and for seventeen days a eunuch, dressed in the royal robes, appeared at the daily ceremony of public audience, while couriers with despatches hastened to Bahram Khan, who was with Akbar. At last Akbar was proclaimed, but he was not to obtain

the throne unopposed, for Himu, the minister of Adil Shah, determined to contest his right. He advanced swiftly on Agra, and occupied that place, while Akbar's generals retired to Delhi, but they had to abandon the place after sustaining defeat. Himu then assumed the name of Raja Vikramaditya, and advanced to the historic field of Panipat with a large army and many elephants. There Akbar and Bahram Khan engaged him. Himu was wounded in the eye with an arrow, taken prisoner, and put to death by order of Bahram Khan—an officious action which Akbar resented, but did not dare to notice. Thus the Moghals, for the second time, obtained the Empire of India at Panipat, and Akbar at once took possession of Delhi.

This emperor did not retain Delhi as his capital, so, although the city was known as "Takht Dilli," or Royal Delhi, it became almost deserted; the old retainers of Humayun, however, lived there, and were there buried. The policy of Akbar was one of conciliation of the Hindu princes, whose daughters he sought in marriage, and whom he appointed nobles and generals of his army; consequently the southern capital of Agra was thought by him more suitable.

The emperor, however, in the early part of his reign, paid several visits to Delhi, in order to visit his foster-mother, Maham Anagah, wife of Nadim Beg Kuka (foster-brother of Humayun) and mother of Adham Khan. It was probably due to her influence that he decided to deprive Bahram Khan of his office as prime minister, and to assume the reins of government in 1560, although he was at

that time only eighteen years of age. His foster-mother's influence also obtained for Adham Khan the command of an expedition into Malwa, where he was successful, but withheld the spoils from the emperor, who said little, but deprived him of employment. Taga Khan, the husband of another foster-mother of Akbar, was in high favour; this caused the jealousy of Adham Khan, who murdered Taga Khan in the audience-chamber. Akbar heard the noise of the scuffle, came out of his chamber, and half drew his sword to kill Adham Khan, but he reflected that such an action would be unbecoming to his dignity, sheathed the sword, and asked sternly the reason for the deed. Adham Khan seized his hands and implored mercy, but Akbar felled him with his fist, and ordered him to be thrown down from the battlements—an operation which had to be twice performed before he expired. Maham Anagah soon afterwards died of grief at the fate of her son, and was buried beside him in the mausoleum which stands on the walls of Old Delhi. Taga Khan was buried near the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia. This was in 1562.

Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, the son of Taga Khan, received his father's honours and most of his appointments, except that of chancellor of the empire; he had a great career, and, although he was sometimes rather insubordinate, Akbar would never punish him severely, saying, "Between him and myself there flows a river of milk." He was Governor, in turn, of Ahmedabad, Guzerat, and of Malwa, but in 1594 did not care to stand an inquiry into his administration, and sailed to Mecca. He

returned in the following year, so disgusted at the extortions he had experienced at that place that he embraced a new religion of Akbar's. He had previously scoffed at this religion, and this proved a serious matter to him; Jahangir, after succeeding his father, was given a letter of Mirza Aziz, ridiculing Akbar, and deprived him of all his honours and lands, and threw him into prison. In 1608 his rank was restored to him, and he lived until 1624, when he died at the age of eighty-five and was buried in his "hall of sixty-four pillars."

In 1563 Akbar paid another visit to Delhi, and had a narrow escape from assassination there. As he was passing the college of Maham Anagah, opposite the fort of Humayun, a servant of a rebel noble fitted an arrow to his bow, and pointed it to the sky, as if to shoot at a bird. The emperor's retinue gazed upward, completely off their guard, and the archer turned his arrow against the emperor and let fly, the arrow embedding itself in Akbar's shoulder. The guards at once cut the miscreant down, wounding each other in their haste; the arrow proved not to be poisoned, for the wound quickly healed.

In 1576 Akbar passed through on his way to join an expedition against Cabul, but the sight of a tremendous comet caused him to abandon his intention. He died in 1605, and was buried in a magnificent tomb at Sikandra, near Agra. It is stated, with some possibility of truth, that he poisoned himself by taking the pill meant for one of his nobles.



**Nur-ud-din Jahangir**, the eldest son, succeeded to the throne; his other name was Salim, given him by the Chisti saint at Fatehpur Sikri, by the efficacy of whose prayers a son was born to Akbar and lived, while previous children had died. Jahangir was a very different man to his father, being given to good living and drinking, and of small ability. His conduct was childish and his claim to fame is not so great as that of his accomplished wife, Nur Jahan, whom however he obtained in the same manner that David obtained Bathsheba. She is credited with the discovery of itr of roses.

Delhi still remained a neglected capital, and was given as an estate to Sayyad Kamal, the son of a Bokhara noble, while Jahangir spent most of his time at Ajmere and Mandu, and other places. He, however, on several occasions visited the city, the first occasion being in 1606, while in pursuit of his son Khusru, who had rebelled and fled to the Punjab. During his short stay at Delhi, Jahangir visited the tomb of his grand-father, Humayun, and the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, distributing (so he says) a hundred thousand rupees in charity. On his return from Lahore, victorious over his son, he ordered trees to be planted along the highroad, sarais to be erected and to be provided with baths and reservoirs for fresh water; servants also were appointed to wait on travellers, as in *dâk bungalows*. As a matter of fact, the sarais had been built by Sher Shah and Islam Shah, but no official notice could be taken of this. Bridges also were built over the streams, among others one of eleven arches near Humayun's tomb, on the Muttra Road.

In 1615 King James the First sent an embassy to Jahangir, under Sir Thomas Roe, but the members of this did not proceed as far even as Agra, for the emperor was then at Ajmere and Mandu. Three refugees from Goa (Needes, Fitch and Newbery) and a Captain Hawkins, with other merchant-mariners sent out by the East India Company, had previously reached Agra. One of these mariners, William Finch, journeyed, early in 1611, by way of Delhi, to Lahore on business, and has left a journal of his travels, to which reference has been made. Finch was probably the first European to see Delhi; if one of the Jesuits, or of the Dutchmen, who lived at Agra in Akbar's time, preceded him, we have no record of it.

In 1615 a certain Thomas Coryate, who lived very much by his wits at the Court of King James, and is said to have introduced the table-fork into England, undertook to walk to the court of the Great Moghal, and actually did so walk, all the way from Aleppo to Agra. The journey took him ten months, and only cost him the small sum of three pounds sterling, of ten shillings of which he was cheated. He must have been the first of those enterprising persons who for a wager have wandered around the globe at the expense of the good-natured. He started from England on October 26th, 1612, reached Jerusalem in April 1614, and Ajmere (via Lahore, Delhi and Agra) on August 28th, 1615. He passed through Delhi, but the only object which attracted his attention was the Pillar of Asoka, which was then still surmounted by a gilded ball and crescent. Later in this same year,

Richard Steel and John Crowther passed through on a journey to Ispahan, and have recorded that "the inhabitants are poor and beggarly, by reason of the king's long absence."

In 1618 Jahangir passed through Delhi on his way to Cashmere; he mentions seeing a species of bird with a peculiar tail. Twenty thousand of these were captured by some Cashmerians, who made a sort of murmuring sound, which had an irresistible attraction for the birds, and they walked into the nets. Perhaps they were pintailed sand-grouse.

In 1623 Prince Khurram, afterwards Shah-jahan, rebelled against his father, and attempted to take Agra, but, being twice foiled, advanced on Delhi, and halted at Faridabad. Jahangir was then residing at Delhi, and was at first greatly alarmed, but plucked up courage as reinforcements joined him, and moved out to battle. The two armies met opposite Tughlukabad, and an indecisive engagement followed; but the prince's troops could not be kept together, so he had to flee, first to Bengal and then to Bijapur. The last years of Jahangir's life were spent in the Punjab, at Cabul, and in Cashmere, where he was taken ill; he died before he could reach Lahore, to which place his body was taken. He was buried at Shahdara, on the north bank of the river Ravi, opposite Lahore.

Prince Khurram was at this time banished and a prisoner in the Deccan, and Jahangir had nominated another son to succeed him, but this son, Bulaki, was defeated, taken prisoner by Khurram's

adherents, and then, as usual, blinded. He is said to have escaped to Persia. Until Prince Khurram could arrive, a nephew of his was set up as emperor. When the Prince came, he cruelly had the puppet-king strangled, and removed every possible disputant of the throne. This was a return to methods of barbarism, for which he suffered when he saw his own son do the same to his brothers. He caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Agra early in 1628, and assumed the title of **Abul Muzaffar Shahab-ud-din, Shahjahan, Shahab-i-Kiran Sani.**

The first few years of his reign were occupied in wars in Bundelcand and the Deccan, and the emperor did not return to Agra until the year 1633. Two years previously his favourite sultana, Arjaimund Banu Begam, had died, and over her grave he ordered to be built the beautiful mausoleum which we have learnt to call the "Taj Mahal," a wrong term for it, and wrongly pronounced as a rule; the correct name is "Taj Bibi ka Roza," the "Taj lady's tomb." It seems a pity to destroy the legend that Shahjahan was faithful to her memory but that he was not, for we have noticed at least three mosques at Delhi built by his wives, while scandal says much more than this, and attributes his subsequent misfortunes to his conduct. That he was faithful to her while she lived seems true, and that was a great compliment.

Shah Jahan now embarked on a programme of building palaces, including the one at Agra; in 1648, he moved into his new palace at Delhi, journeying by river from Agra. In the same year he started

his city walls, first building them in stone and mud, but afterwards in lime, for the rains soon played havoc with them. He had previously visited Delhi, in 1634, on his way to Cashmere, and passed through again on his return in the following year. Between Delhi and Agra the wife of Dara Shikoh, his eldest and favourite son, presented him with a grandson, and on this occasion of rejoicing he first mounted the wonderful Peacock Throne, which had been seven years in the making.

In 1657 Shahjahan fell seriously ill at Delhi, and was only relieved by copious bleeding. He shut himself up in the palace, placing the Rajas of Jodhpur and Kishangarh on guard at the gates. The people were much concerned, and all business was suspended for three days and nights, until the bulletins announced his convalescence. A report of his death reached the provinces, and his sons, except Dara, who was with his father, moved their armies on Delhi. To show the falseness of the rumour, Dara had urged his father to proceed to Agra by boat, but too late. Aurangzeb had found his opportunity at last, marched from Aurangabad, and joined forces with Murad, Viceroy of Guzarat. Murad was cajoled into the belief that Aurangzeb was not desirous of the throne, but was merely helping him to gain it; by constant intrigue Aurangzeb won over many adherents of his father; the result was that Dara with the imperial army was decisively defeated at Samugarh, south of Agra, and had to flee. Shahjahan was about to return to Delhi, when the news of Aurangzeb's determination to advance against him was received,

but he never saw Delhi again. He spent his remaining years a prisoner at Agra, attended by his daughter Jahanara. He once asked Aurangzeb to permit him to see his palace at Delhi, and Aurangzeb agreed, on condition that the journey should be made by water. This condition was refused, and, as a journey by land might have led to a popular rising in his favour, he remained at Agra, where he died in 1666. Jahanara then went to Delhi and was kindly received by her brother, living there until her death in 1681.

Murad, deaf to the warnings of his retainers, moved with Aurangzeb towards Delhi, and at Muttra was made a prisoner; he was sent at first to the prison of Salimgarh, but was removed later to Gwalior, where he was given poppy water to drink, so as to sap his intellect. In 1660 he was put to death by order of Aurangzeb. Shah Shuja, the third son, was defeated, and fled to Assam, but Aurangzeb's machinations caused him to be driven out, and to die a miserable death in the jungles.

There remained Dara, the eldest son, who fled by way of Sind to Guzarat, and once again essayed his fortune, but was defeated near Ajmere. He escaped for a while, but was betrayed, taken to Delhi, and paraded through the streets on an elephant, before being confined at Khawasपुरah, near Khizrabad. Aurangzeb consulted with his nobles as to his fate, but it was a mere pretence, and his execution was ordered. When Dara's head was brought to Aurangzeb on a charger, he is said to have stamped on the face. There was never any

love lost between the two, Dara styling the other as "that prayer-monger," while Aurangzeb termed him "the infidel." Dara's body was buried on the platform of Humayun's tomb, but his head was sent to Shahjahan, and then, it is said, buried in the tomb of Taj Mahal. Sipihr Shikoh, Dara's son, was a prisoner in Salimgarh until his death in 1708, when another emperor was on the throne. Udepuri, Dara's widow, was taken by Aurangzeb as his wife, and to her he seems to have shown great affection, their son Kambaksh being his favourite.

**Aurangzeb** ascended the throne at the Shah-limar gardens, north of Delhi, in 1658, assuming the title of Alamgir, but he was never known by it. His character was a complex one, and contemporary European accounts of him are far from flattering, but it is hardly possible to feel admiration for an usurper of his father's throne, and a murderer of his brothers. He is said to have been treacherous to the core, to have stopped at nothing to remove his enemies, to have had no regard for the sanctity of an oath, to swear safety and order poisoned robes to be handed to the victim, in fact to have been a Borgia. Yet he is said to have been kindly at times, and to have been a careful ruler of his people; his simplicity and purity of life were undoubted. There is a story of his love for a dancing girl in early life, and of her persuading him for love of her to drink a cup of wine, which, however, relenting at the last moment she took from him. When he came to the throne, he ordered that wine drinking and music should be stopped, and when the musicians of Delhi arranged

a mock funeral of "Music," he cared not one jot. But this severity he had to relax later.

Aurangzeb spent a considerable time at Delhi which now resumed its position as the capital. In 1661 there was a dreadful famine, and many inhabitants perished in spite of his efforts. In that year an embassy arrived from Shah Abbas King of Persia, but the manner of its reception made him an enemy of Aurangzeb. In 1662, the emperor had a serious illness, which affected his speech for the rest of his life, and he paid a visit to Cashmere at the end of the year to recruit his health, not returning till 1664. Before his departure a mission from the Dutch was received by him.

As early as 1659, Aurangzeb had sent an army against Shivaji, the Mahratta leader, and in 1664 the Mahrattas made a raid as far north as Surat, which city they plundered. This was an unpardonable insult, for Surat was the gate to Mecca, so Jai Singh of Amber was sent to the Deccan, and succeeded so well that Shivaji in 1665 repaired to court. But he was only there a few months and then fled in fear of Aurangzeb's treachery. In that same year embassies from Ethiopia and Mecca came to Delhi. On the death of his father in 1666, the emperor paid a short visit to Agra to attend the funeral.

In 1667, Jai Singh of Amber died, and soon after Aurangzeb in an access of religious zeal, being relieved of his most dangerous Hindu general, visited Muttra, and ordered a wholesale destruction of temples and images. From 1674 to 1676 he was engaged in a fruitless expedition against the



Pathans, and soon after sent another Hindu, Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, to carry on the war. On the death of Jaswant Singh, he tried to obtain possession of his posthumous son, Ajit Singh, but a small and gallant band of Rajputs defied him, and held for a whole day the Barahpalah bridge against his army. This roused Aurangzeb still more against the Hindus; he imposed a poll-tax on them, and made an expedition against Jodhpur and Udaipur in 1679. He then moved on into the Deccan to prosecute a vigorous campaign against the Mahrattas, and never returned to Delhi.

The war in the Deccan cost Aurangzeb an enormous number of men and animals, the country was devastated far and near, and has never really recovered, but at the end of it all the Mahrattas were stronger than ever. Yet he never gave in, and his energy was undiminished almost to the day of his death; he has been credited with occult knowledge, and may have foreseen what a danger they were to the Moghal power. Shivaji died in 1680, but others succeeded him with equal generalship.

In 1689, incensed by acts of bombast, Aurangzeb instituted a vigorous campaign against the English traders at Surat, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, where their factories were seized. Bombay was saved from the Sidi of Jinjira (hereditary admiral of the imperial fleet) only by humble submission at court, and heavy bribes, after sustaining a siege for some months.

Aurangzeb died on the 3rd of March 1707 at Ahmednagar, and was buried at Roza, 14 miles

north-west of Aurangabad. From this time onward, the fortunes of the Moghals steadily declined and Delhi shared in their ill-fortune. The extent of empire at this time was considerable. On the north the boundaries were Cabul and Candahar; Sind, Gujarat, most of the Deccan, Orissa, Bengal and Assam were included. Except for Nepal and Bhutan, all India, north of a line through Bombay, Bijapur, and Masulipatam was under Moghal rule, and the revenue may be taken at 19 crores of rupees, or over two million sterling. A legend of the time, quoted by Manucci, said that this magnificent empire would pass with Aurangzeb, and so it proved.

## CHAPTER XI.

### DECLINE OF THE MOGHAL EMPIRE.

As had been foreseen by Aurangzeb, a similar state of affairs followed his death to that which had followed the supposed death of his father. The eldest son, Muazzim, now 64 years of age, was near the Indus; Azam was in the imperial camp, and actually ascended the throne; Kambaksh was at Bijapur. Another son, Akbar, had died in Persia in 1706, a refugee since his rebellion in consort with the Rajputs, and much too wise to get into his father's power again. The armies of Muazzim and of Azam met quite close to the field where their father had defeated Dara, and a decisive battle ensued. It is said that six hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, and that the battle was the most tremendous that has occurred in Indian history. Muazzim's sons won the day, and he ascended the throne with the title of **Shah Alam Bahadur Shah**. Perhaps he deserved to do so, as he alone never plotted against his father, but some say this was owing to his cowardice. Azam was killed on the field of battle.

Kambaksh now marched from Bijapur, and endeavoured to obtain the empire, but was gradually driven back to the modern Hyderabad; his followers were detached from him, and in the battle he received wounds, from which he died. Bahadur Shah now had to contend with the rising power of

the Sikhs, and died (it is supposed of poison) during an expedition against them, at Lahore in 1712. His body was taken to the shrine of Kutb-ud-din and buried there. He appears to have done nothing of importance at Delhi.

The reign of the next emperor, **Jahandar Shah**, was a short one. He had to fight for his throne with his brothers, and was only successful by the aid of one of Aurangzeb's generals, Zulficar Khan, whom he appointed prime minister and virtual ruler of his dominions, while Jahandar gave himself up to pleasure. He became completely infatuated with a dancing-girl, Lal Kunwar, and desired to appoint her relatives to all the important posts—a course of conduct which aroused the anger and disgust of two brothers, Sayyids, named Abdulla Khan and Hasan Khan. These two took up arms against him, and defeated him near Agra, forcing him to fly; but he was captured and put to death, and was buried on the platform of Humayun's tomb. This was in 1713.

The king-maker Sayyids then placed on the throne the nephew of the previous king, by name **Farukhsiyar**. He was, somewhat naturally, a mere puppet; when he attempted to rid himself of his keepers, he was taken prisoner, blinded, and put to death. He also was buried at Humayun's tomb.

Two important events of his reign must be recorded. In 1716, the last Sikh Guru was tortured to death, prophesying that the day would come when the Sikhs would take Delhi, a prophecy fulfilled in 1857. In 1716 also, Farukhsiyar, recently married, fell sick; a Scotch surgeon Gabriel

Hamilton, one of a deputation of English traders from Calcutta, which had been waiting at Delhi since 1713, was summoned to attend him, and effected a cure. Asked to state his fee, he requested a warrant exempting the East India Company from payment of customs duty within the emperor's dominions, on consideration of an annual payment in lieu. This, being granted, implied a recognition of the status of the Company, and gave them grounds for negotiations, which eventually led to important results. The firman was dated January 6th, 1717.

Farukh'siyar was murdered in 1719, and the Sayyids raised to the throne in quick succession two boys; one of these they murdered, the other died soon after his succession. Both were buried at Humayun's tomb. The king-makers then placed on the throne **Mahomed Shah**, a disastrous name, for each ruler of that name saw invaders devastate his dominions. The empire now gradually became dismembered. The Governor of the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, Chin Qulich Khan, born on August 11th, 1671, although calling himself a subject, had been practically independent at Hyderabad since 1713. The Governor of Oudh set up what was really a separate kingdom at Lucknow about 1722. In the second year of his reign, 1720, Mahomed Shah set out with a Mahratta army to suppress the Nizam-ul-Mulk, accompanied by Hasan Khan, the elder of the two Sayyids, but Hasan was assassinated near Agra in 1722. Saadat Khan was one of three who drew lots who should carry it out, and was rewarded with the government.

of Oudh. It was gross ingratitude, because the Sayyids had raised him from the state of a sowar. Mahomed Shah, seizing the chance, returned towards Delhi, in order to dispose of the other brother. Abdulla Khan marched against him, but was defeated and taken prisoner near Shergarh, about twenty miles north of Muttra. He was taken to Delhi, and died there of his wounds. Mahomed Shah was much pressed to revenge on him the murder of his cousin Farukhsiyar, but magnanimously refused to do so, as one brother had already expiated the crime.

On July 16th, 1720, there was a severe earthquake, which destroyed part of the city wall, injured two gates, and caused the collapse of the minarets of the Fatehpuri Masjid.

In 1737 Mahomed Shah summoned the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Delhi, nominally to assist him in straightening out the tangled condition of the affairs of the empire, really to disgrace him. The Nizam, however, was much too acute, and came with a bodyguard of twenty thousand men, so that Mahomed quailed at carrying out his project. Mahomed remained under the evil influence of Khan Dauran, the captain-general of the empire, so the Nizam, powerless to interfere, and submitted to insult, returned to the Deccan in a huff. In order to arouse the emperor to a sense of his duties, he arranged a Mahratta raid on the Northern Provinces, of which Mahomed took no notice, until the enemy, under Baji Rao, arrived at the temple of Kalika, six miles from Delhi, where a fair was going on. They defeated the king's troops, but

were bought out by Saadat Khan, Nawab of Oudh, at the price of the cession of Malwa, whereby the Mahratta States of Sindhia and Holkar arose.

Again the Nizam was summoned, again he was treated with disrespect and his counsel was laughed at, so he entered into negotiations with Saadat Khan, and the two sent a joint letter to Kuli Khan, Nadir Shah of Persia, asking him to give the emperor a lesson. He was nothing loth, and set out in the latter part of 1738 with an army of thirty-six thousand horse; the army of Mahomed Shah, after one false start, marched out of Delhi and camped on the plains of Karnal. Nadir Shah met with very little opposition, for the Subahdars of Peshawar and of Lahore had been advised by the Nizam not to fight seriously, so the two armies soon came face to face, and for some days sat down opposite each other. Then a plundering raid developed unexpectedly into a battle, in which the troops of Mahomed Shah, who were estimated at two hundred thousand strong, received a defeat, in which Saadat Khan was taken prisoner, but were not driven from the camp.

After some days of perplexity and wavering counsel, Mahomed, afraid of the intrigues of the Nizam, who was bargaining with the enemy, surrendered himself to Nadir Shah, and was received with the respect due to a king. He was, however, reproached with his inattention to the affairs of his State and with his want of generalship, and was informed that the empire would not be taken from him, but that Delhi would be occupied until an indemnity was paid.

On March 9, 1739, Nadir Shah, preceded by Mahomed Shah, entered Delhi, and took up his quarters in the palace, Mahomed contenting himself with the Shah Burj, while the invader occupied the main apartments. Strict orders were given that the inhabitants were not to be molested, but on the evening of the 10th a scuffle was started by some grain-sellers at Paharganj, and a report was spread that Nadir Shah had been killed. A riot quickly developed, and Nadir Shah, highly incensed, proceeded on the following morning to quell it. As he entered the Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-daula, in the Chandni Chouk, a musket was fired at him, and the ball narrowly missed. He gave orders at once for a general massacre. From the Jewellers' Bazar to the old Idgah, and from the "Chittli" tomb (near the Jama masjid) to the Mithai Bridge in the Teliwara Mandi, slaughter and fire and pillage raged in a most barbarous manner, from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon. Then Mahomed Shah sent an envoy to make personal intercession, and the slaughter was stopped, after over a hundred thousand people had been killed, many of whom were perfectly innocent men, women, and children. On the 13th a second, but smaller, massacre succeeded a second riot, and the work of clearing the dead bodies, piled in heaps in the streets, took several days. For many years afterwards the quarter near the Golden Mosque remained almost deserted, so terrible was the memory of this event, which is commemorated by the name, "Khuni Darwaza," given to the gate near which the massacre commenced.



Many days were spent in settling the details of the ransom to be exacted from the city, four crores of rupees (four millions sterling) being demanded. Mahomed Shah was reinstated and advised to beware of the Nizam, and a marriage took place between the son of Nadir Shah and a great-granddaughter of Aurangzeb, the rejoicings at which must have been somewhat forced. At length, on the 5th of May, Nadir Shah left Delhi for the Shahlimar Gardens, the first stage on his return to Persia. The total value of the plunder has been estimated at eighty crores of rupees, eighty millions sterling, including the Koh-i-nur diamond. Unwilling to surrender this, Mahomed Shah concealed it in his turban, but Nadir Shah proposed an exchange of head dress on the specious plea of considering it a great honour, and Mahomed Shah dare not refuse. The famous Peacock Throne was carried off, Khorassan and all the territory west of the Indus was ceded, and two hundred thousand people altogether are said to have lost their lives.

Heavily mulcted as the inhabitants of Delhi had been, it must have been with feelings of relief that they saw the departure of the invader. But the lesson was of little use to Mahomed Shah. Saadat Khan of Oudh had died, on the 9th of March, of an illness which looked uncommonly like the effects of poison, and the Nizam had returned to the Deccan and become independent. There is a story that both these nobles were bitterly upbraided by Nadir Shah for their unpatriotic conduct in calling him in, that they retired from the

audience and agreed to take poison, but that the Nizam took a harmless draught and pretended to die, coming to life again when Saadat Khan was reported to have really carried out his part of the compact. Another version is that Saadat Khan, to curry favour, magnified the riches of the city and caused an increase in the ransom, but, when he saw the city sacked by the inhabitants indignant at the increase, he committed suicide in a fit of remorse.

Kamr-ud-din, a trusty adherent of the Nizam, was now reappointed prime minister, but he was not able to stop the falling off of the limbs of the decaying empire—Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Rohilkand all becoming independent. The emperor was able actually to defeat the rebel who had possessed himself of the last-named province, but could not bring back the country under his rule. In 1743 the Mahrattas received the “Chouth” or fourth part of the revenue of the imperial territories. Then came another invasion from the north, under Ahmad Khan Abdali, the leader of the Sadozai or Durani Afghans. Strange to say, the Moghal army was able to defeat him. One of the generals of that army was Mansur Ali Khan, Safdar Jang, but he soon retired, and it was through no fault of his that the victory was won. Unfortunately, during the action the prime minister was killed in his tent, by a cannon-ball, while at prayer. The emperor was deeply attached to him, and grieved so greatly over his loss that he fell down in a fit and expired. He had reigned twenty-nine years, and died in 1748. His tomb is in one of

the marble enclosures near the shrine of Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Aulia.

Mahomed Shah was succeeded by his son, **Ahmad Shah**, and the office of prime minister was assumed by Safdar Jang, the office being made hereditary in the Oudh family. The Nizam of Hyderabad died at the commencement of this reign, at the age of seventy-seven. Now the Rohillas again revolted, and Safdar Jang, the "dispenser of the battle ranks," called in the aid of Hindus, summoning the Mahrattas and the Jats. There was no way of paying for their services, except to assign them the revenues of the conquered province, so the glory still further departed. The Jats call themselves Foujdars, because the Mahomedan rulers assigned to Choramun Rajah of Bhartpur certain sources of revenue called Foujdari, in consideration of his keeping the Agra-Delhi road free from robbers. Then, in 1749, the Durani chieftain again appeared on the scene; the Hindu auxiliaries were summoned to Delhi to oppose him, but the emperor bought him off by the cession of the provinces of Lahore and Multan. The presence of the Hindu mercenaries at Delhi was dangerous, for they were clamorous for pay, and might at any moment seize the city. They were sent off in 1752 to the Deccan to aid the son of the old Nizam to recover for himself that province, which had been usurped by his brother, but he died by poison at Aurangabad.

There was left behind a grandson of the Nizam, named Ghazi-ud-din, and this young man worthily upheld the party, to which he belonged, against the

Oudh faction, at the head of which was Safdar Jang, the minister. Delhi saw almost daily scuffles between these Montagus and Capulets, which eventually resulted in the rise of the Deccan party to power. In 1751 Safdar Jang revolted, and called to his aid the Bhartpur Jats, under Suraj Mal. Ghazi-ud-din bravely defended Delhi against them for five months, in 1753. He eventually defeated the Jats, in his turn calling on the Mahrattas under Holkar to complete the suppression of that tribe. But now the emperor must needs take a hand in a game which he did not in the least understand, and marched towards Bhartpur nominally to aid the young Ghazi, who was besieging that place, really to betray him. A letter from Ahmad Shah to Suraj Mal unfortunately fell into the hands of Ghazi-ud-din; Holkar, the ally of the latter, attacked, took, and plundered the emperor's camp; Ahmad Shah fled to Delhi, to be followed and invested by Ghazi, to whom he had to open the gates.

A council of nobles inquired into the emperor's conduct in intriguing against "his own friends," and advised his deposition, which was at once carried out. But it will be remembered that deposed monarchs had previously been able to regain their kingdom, unless rendered unfit to rule, and that was effected by blinding. This operation was carried out in one of two ways: the eyes could be cut by a lancet, which had a disfiguring effect, or could be seared by a red-hot wire pencil. So the emperor was blinded, and consigned to the State prison at Salimgarh. He disappears from history,

and the date of his death is not known, nor the place of his burial, although one account places it near the Kadam Sharif.

The new emperor was the son of Jahangir Shah, and ascended the throne with the title of **Alamgir Sani**, the "second conqueror of the world." But he was not even master of his capital. Ghazi-ud-din was the virtual ruler without fear of a rival, for Safdar Jang died at this time, A.D. 1754. The empire had been reduced to a few districts around Delhi, the Punjab was gone, the Deccan and Oudh were separate kingdoms, and practically all the rest of India belonged to the Mahrattas, except the gradually increasing territories of the Honourable East India Company. The battle of Plassey was fought in the fourth year of Alamgir's reign, on June 23, 1757.

Alamgir was now foolish enough to intrigue against his master, and thought he saw a good way to undermine the power of Ghazi by calling in the Durani, who did not require much invitation, for he had been greatly incensed by a successful raid of Ghazi-ud-din on Lahore. When Ahmad Khan arrived within twenty miles of Delhi, Ghazi moved out against him, but the intrigues of Alamgir caused the desertion of a great part of his troops, whereupon Ghazi made the most of his personality to ingratiate himself with the invader, succeeding so well that he at once got into great favour with him. Ahmad Khan entered Delhi on January 20, 1757, and assumed the government, extorting money from the unhappy people, and inflicting on them indignities which must have

almost made them sigh for Nadir Shah. After a stay of two months Ahmad Khan proceeded to Muttra to sack that place, and lay waste the Jat territories, leaving Ghazi-ud-din as powerful as ever in Delhi, and Alamgir deeply regretting his arrant folly, his failure in intrigue, and the enmity which he had aroused in Ghazi's breast. That individual had in him a vein of great cruelty which overshadowed his better nature, and he now commenced a general oppression, backing his power by the employment of a horde of Mahratta mercenaries, the payment of whom came from his unfortunate enemies in the State.

In 1759 the East India Company's agent at Surat was made Admiral of the imperial fleet, a grant of 2 lacs of rupees being made for its support. In the same year, Ahmad Khan Abdali again invaded the country, and Ghazi did not feel at all comfortable at his approach; he determined to rid himself of Alamgir before his power to do so vanished. He therefore caused it to be reported to the king that a holy man had taken up his quarters in the Kotila of Firoze Shah; it was suggested that Alamgir should visit him there. The king had a partiality for religious mendicants, and readily agreed, but there awaited him only an assassin, who killed him with his dagger, cut off his head, and threw the headless trunk on to the river sands below, whence it was taken and buried on the platform of Humayun's tomb. The Durani chieftain at once moved on Delhi, again plundered and almost depopulated the city. Ghazi-ud-din had to flee, and eventually he was deported to Mecca,

in 1780, by the British police of Surat. He returned and died in retirement about 1800.

Not finding any one else to punish, Ahmad Khan visited the retribution of the crime on the innocent inhabitants of Delhi, now almost deserted. He ordered a seven days slaughter, sacked the city, and then leaving a garrison in the palace, retired to Anupshahr.

The Mahrattas and the Jats under Suraj Mal now combined to drive out the Mahomedans and establish Hindu rule. After sustaining one defeat by the Duranis they forced them to retire, and easily took possession of Delhi, proceeding to strip the palace of all that was valuable, and that had been left by Nadir Shah and by Ahmad Khan Abdali. This was not much, for the latter had gleaned well; but they took the silver ceiling of the Diwan Khas, and such precious stones as they were able to gouge out of the pillars. They then advanced to Panipat with a vast army, fifty-five thousand good cavalry (an arm in which they excelled), a large train of artillery, and fifteen thousand French-trained infantry, supplemented by perhaps two hundred thousand irregulars. Holkar, Sindhia, Dumaji Gaikwar (founder of the family of Baroda) the Bhao, brother of the Peshwa, Suraj Mal of Bhartpur, all contributed forces. Against this formidable force Ahmad Khan was able to place about fifty thousand cavalry, a small train of artillery, and some forty thousand Indian infantry, for all Mahomedans made common cause against the Hindus on this occasion. But the discipline of

his army was better, and the Mahrattas were subjected to a blockade for the space of two months.

Fear of famine at last brought on the action, but the Jats deserted, Mulhar Rao Holkar left the field, and a colossal massacre of the remaining Mahrattas took place in the village of Panipat. The only individual to emerge with credit was Shuja-ud-daula, afterwards Nawab of Oudh, who for his bravery was made wazir of the empire. Madhojee Sindhia was pursued a long way and eventually cut down, but he recovered, although lame for life. So on January 7, 1761, at the third battle of Panipat, another dream of Hindu rule faded away, entirely through lack of cohesion, brought about by selfish and constant consideration of private interests, and a long-standing animosity between the Peshwa's brother and Holkar. No chief would allow his forces to engage seriously, for he might be ruined, while others drew off their troops in order to retain their territories.

Ahmad Khan once again occupied Delhi, but soon retired after sending his salutations to Ali Gohar, the heir-apparent, who had previously fled from Delhi to Lucknow, fearing, and with good reason, the designs of Ghazi-ud-din upon his life.

**Shah Alam**, as the new king had termed himself on receiving the news of the assassination of his father, did not reach Delhi until 1771, after having kept up some sort of a court at Allahabad, with the aid of an annual subsidy of twenty-six lakhs of rupees from the East India Company, in return for a grant in 1765 of the Dewani of Bengal and some other provinces. In 1764 the



forces of the empire led by Shuja-ud-daula, nawab of Oudh and wazir of the empire, had attacked the British, but were repulsed at Buxar, and the emperor came over into British protection. This battle was as important as that of Plassey. His son Mirza (or Prince) Jiwan Bakht was meanwhile, by permission of the Mahrattas, regent at Delhi over a very small territory.

At the end of 1763 Suraj Mal, the Jat chief, after occupying Agra, and seating himself on the throne of the Moghals (which at once cracked), advanced to Ghazi-ud-din Nagar, eighteen miles east of Delhi, but was taken by surprise and killed. The sight of his head on a lance was sufficient for the discomfiture of his troops when they arrived too late. His son then allied himself with Mulhar Rao Holkar, and was able to besiege Delhi for three months, until Holkar came to an understanding with their enemy, suddenly left him, and the siege was raised. In 1767 the Sikhs threatened Delhi. The prime minister was then Najib-ud-daulah, a Rohilla, who called in the Durani once more, but he did not on this occasion approach nearer than Panipat, and then retired from Hindustan for ever. He died in 1774. The Sikhs after this became too strong, and kept the Afghans within their borders.

In 1770 Najib-ud-daulah died, and was succeeded in his post of wazir by his son, Zabita Khan, but the Mahrattas drove him out, and in the following year Shah Alam, with a small army, returned to Delhi, with the consent of the British, who however, ceased payment of the subsidy. His troops were commanded by a scion of the Persian royal

family, Mirza Najaf Khan, of whom we shall hear more. Shah Alam found a Mahratta army of thirty thousand men at Delhi, but by agreement they acquiesced in his entry on Christmas Day, 1771; he had also the countenance of the East India Company, and had been escorted to the borders of his nominal territory by a British force. The Mahrattas led by the emperor in 1772 pursued Zabita Khan into Rohilkand, his family and treasure fell into their hands, and his son, Ghulam Kadir, was presented to Shah Alam, who took a serpent into his bosom.

Zabita Khan now intrigued with the Mahrattas for his reinstatement as prime minister, and they supported his cause. their army advancing on Delhi. The king's troops met them at Badarpur, on the Muttra Road near Tughlukabad, and a series of skirmishes ensued, as the result of which the imperial force had to retire to Humayun's tomb, and then to Dariaganj. The king threw over Najaf Khan, and accepted Zabita Khan as his minister. The former fortified himself in a sarai outside the Cabul Gate, but seeing no hope, put on his armour and rode out, as he thought, to his death. Instead, he was respectfully received, and escorted in safety to the Mahratta camp. Why? Because it did not suit them to dispose of a man of such influence, although they had but a few days previously been the instruments of his disgrace. Such a complete change of policy is difficult to understand, but that is just what so often happened—slight incidents or further discussion causing great change of policy, it might be on

two successive days. It is therefore impossible to detail fully the events of the next few years, but some important events may be briefly noticed.

In 1775 the Jat power was broken by Najaf Khan at the battle of Barsana, and this intrepid noble took the strong fortress of Dig in the following year. In 1777 he engaged the Rohillas, under Zabita Khan, at Panipat; the action was indecisive, but a compact, ratified by marriages, brought peace. In 1779 he signally defeated the Sikhs at Meerut, and thus was successful in three campaigns against the enemies of his master. But death overtook him in 1782, and removed the last prop of the decayed trunk of the Moghal empire; he was buried at Aliganj, near Safdar Jang's tomb. It was he who conferred the Jaghir of Sardhana on Walter Reinhard "the Sombre." The year following his death was one of fearful famine.

In 1784 the emperor again sought British protection, but it was refused. In 1785 Zabita Khan died, and Ghulam Kadir succeeded to his estates. Early in the same year Shah Alam, powerless amid the dissensions of his nobles, decided to entrust himself to the Mahratta Scindia, who gladly acquiesced and placed a garrison in the palace at Delhi, being called the "Patel." Ghulam Kadir, however, considered himself sufficiently strong to measure swords with the Mahrattas, and to demand a high post in the State. In 1787 he advanced on Delhi, and encamped at Shahdara, opposite the palace, the garrison of which opened fire on him from the guns mounted on the walls. Ghulam Kadir was not slow to reply, using, at the same

time, that still more effective weapon, money, to lessen the resistance. In the result the Moghals deserted to him, and the Mahratta garrison evacuated the city.

Ghulam Kadir was accorded an audience by Shah Alam, and was naturally asked what he meant by firing on the palace. He ascribed his action to his zeal, and protested his loyalty, applying for the patent of Amir-ul-Umra, and retiring. The patent not being forthcoming, he entered the palace three days afterwards and took up his quarters in the house usually ascribed to that functionary. What Shah Alam would have done cannot be imagined, had not the Begam Samru of Sardhana hastened to his aid, and forced Ghulam Kadir to retire across the river. Fresh troops now arrived under a Rewari noble, and Shah Alam melted down his plate to pay others, so that a considerable force was got together to oppose Ghulam Kadir, who started a second cannonade, some of the balls hitting the Diwan Khas. A truce, however, was patched up and Ghulam went off to Aligarh, and on to Agra.

At the beginning of 1788 Shah Alam, excited by the unusual sight of an army under his orders, actually undertook an expedition, which had one small triumph, and was then abandoned. Ghulam Kadir and his ally Ismail Beg, late general of the Moghal troops, now defeated the Mahrattas at Chaksana, near Bhartpur, but were divided by dissensions and Ghulam again appeared before Delhi, at Shahdara. He had another interview with Shah Alam, but retired on the arrival of a small

Mahratta force, which had defeated Ismail Beg before Agra. Again the palace was bombarded, again the Moghal soldiery was bought over, and again the Hindus withdrew.

Ghulam Kadir presented himself for another interview, and entered the palace with a small body of troops; he was given a "khilat," or dress of honour, and a richly jewelled shield with the office of prime minister, swearing fealty on the Koran. At a subsequent audience he demanded pay for his troops, and assumed a pretence of anger at refusal. He disarmed the old king, ordered him into arrest, took a royal prisoner from the Salimgarh prison and placed him on the throne, from which he ordered Shah Alam to descend. He then proceeded to ill-treat the old man and the ladies of his family, whom he stripped of their jewellery. He even lounged on the throne beside the wretched puppet whom he had set up, and puffed smoke into his face. Deeds like this were naturally regarded with horror by the people, and the name of Ghulam Kadir still stands for all that is vile; but worse was to come.

The ruffian ordered Shah Alam to be brought into the Diwan Khas, and asked him once more to give up the secret of his treasure-house; what could the unfortunate king do but protest that there was no treasure? This must have been perfectly true, for we have seen that, not long before, he had melted down his plate. More words passed, until Shah Alam, losing all patience, dared his tormentor to do his worst, whereupon the wretch leaped from the throne, threw him to the ground, and with his

own dagger struck out one eye, the attendant Rohillas depriving the other of sight. "What dost thou see?" then asked the traitor. "I see only the holy Koran between you and me," replied Shah Alam, with dignity, referring to the oath of fealty sworn by the perjured scoundrel. He was then removed to the prison of Salimgarh.

Nothing perhaps indicates more clearly the decadence of Mahomedan rule at this period than the fact that a blind man was still recognized as king, for in the course of the history of Delhi we have often seen the contrary. Before, however, proceeding to notice the incidents of the remaining years of Shah Alam, let us follow Ghulam Kadir to his well-merited fate.

The news of the awful deed did not at once leak out, but before long the citizens began to leave the city in horror, and the Mahrattas soon appeared again on the scene. Nevertheless Ghulam continued to occupy the palace, although deserted by Ismail Beg, until a considerable army was collected against him before the walls of Delhi. He then blew up a powder-magazine in the palace, emerged at night from the gate of Salimgarh, and joined his troops encamped at Shahdara. The Mahrattas re-occupied the palace, and were able to extinguish the flames before much damage had been done. The blind king was released, but Ghulam Kadir was not pursued for some days.

At length considerable reinforcements arrived, and the ruffian was invested in the fort of Meerut, whence he escaped alone, with such of his plunder as he could carry in his saddle-bags. Riding in the

dead of night, his horse fell into a "well-run," the inclined way by which the bullocks draw up the leather water-bag. His horse made off, but he was stunned by the fall; in the morning he was taken prisoner, and eventually despatched to Scindia's camp at Muttra. There he was mounted on a donkey, with his face to the tail, and sent round the bazar; when he abused his guards, his tongue was torn out. Then he was blinded, his nose, ears, hands, and feet were cut off, and in this miserable condition he was sent to Shah Alam. Some say he was exhibited in a cage at Delhi; others say that his guards grew tired of carrying him along, and hanged his head downwards on a tree; thus he died. There is a weird story of a black dog, which licked the blood as it dropped from his corpse until both dog and corpse mysteriously disappeared. Whether he was really responsible for the firing of the cannon-ball which has marked the Iron Pillar must also be doubtful; but any bad act is ascribed to him, just as mutilations of Hindu shrines are ascribed to Aurangzeb, and those of English churches to Cromwell.

The re-enthronement of the blind king was carried out with a certain amount of display at the beginning of 1789. Coins were still struck in his name and his nominal sovereignty was acknowledged far and wide, but he was only a pensioner of the Mahrattas, with an income of nine lakhs of rupees (of which only a fraction reached him). The East India Company also allowed him a monthly allowance of two thousand rupees. In 1802 the Mahrattas only disbursed Rs. 17,000 a

month for the support of the king and his 52 children. His only other revenue was derived from occasional "nazrs," or tributary offerings, which even British officers had to give, receiving in return cheap "khilats," or dresses of honour, made of sprigged muslin. He was left in peace for many years, for Madhaji Scindia and Daulat Rao, his successor in 1794, the Patel of the palace, had a splendid army under the French general De Boigne, and there was no one to dispute Delhi with him or with Perron, who was given the command when Daulat Rao Scindia had succeeded his uncle and De Boigne had retired through ill-health in 1795. Interesting as are the events of this period, full of the wild adventures of the European leaders of the Mahratta forces, there is little to record of Delhi itself, except a siege of five weeks in 1798, which followed the refusal of the Mahratta governor to surrender the city to Perron's nominee.



## CHAPTER XII.

### DELHI UNDER "JOHN COMPANY."

There now appeared on the horizon the forces of another nation. The Honourable East India Company, although a private firm, so to say, by whose license alone Englishmen were permitted to carry on trade in India, had been by now submitted to State control, and was the representative of the British nation. Between their territories and those nominally under the sway of the Moghal king there was nothing but an imaginary and weak frontier, insufficient to hold back those who had the power, and who could not be expected for ever to refrain from using it.

By the treaty of Bassein on December 31st, 1802, the Mahratta Peishwa placed his fortunes in the hands of the East India Company, but his power was negligible, and the chiefs Daulat Rao Scindia, the Raja of Berar, Jeswant Rao Holkar and others were independent of it. The first two united their armies and kept them in position with the avowed intention of attacking the Company's and the Nizam's territories in spite of every protest. The territory around Delhi was held in jaghir by M. Perron as security for payment of a very considerable force (as many as 39,000 men with a well-equipped artillery) well-armed and disciplined and officered to a large extent by Frenchmen. Napoleon had invaded Egypt and there were those who

hoped that he might advance to India like a second Alexander, in which event the "depredatory French State" as the Marquis Wellesley termed Perron's jaghir, might lend formidable aid. Shah Alam was practically in French hands, and his name (still held in high respect) might be invoked to cause a rising against the English.

On September 11th, 1803, Sindhia refusing to declare his intentions, Lord Wellesley gave orders to advance against him, and to crush an army which was beginning to assume threatening proportions. In the middle of the monsoon, after a rapid advance from Cawnpore and Fatehgarh, and the capture of the strong fortress of Aligarh, General Lake appeared before Delhi, near the village of Patparganj, east of the Jumna, on plains at that season flooded with water. There the Mahratta garrison, twelve battalions of Hindustani European-trained infantry, 70 guns and 5,000 Mahratta cavalry, opposed him. Intrigues on the part of Perron against his English officers, and pusillanimity in the face of the enemy, had left the garrison without a general. Dissensions were rife and the Asd Burj was bombarded by the new commander Bourquain, for the garrison of the palace still declared for Perron, now a refugee in British territory.

The British force consisted of H. M. 27th Dragoons, and 76th Foot, two regiments of native cavalry, and seven of native infantry, or four thousand nine hundred men in all. It was relatively small, but the troops were excellent, the general capable, and the result of a long march and action from 3 a.m. to 7 p.m. was the complete rout of

the Mahrattas. Sixty-eight guns were captured, and the British loss was 461 killed and wounded. M. Bourquain plundered the city and made off, but surrendered on the 14th.

On the 14th of September (a significant date in 1857) the head of the British force entered Delhi. Two days later General Lake had an interview with the old blind king in the Diwan Khas, receiving from him the insignia of second noble of the now imaginary Moghal empire; the first was Daulat Rao Scindia. He was termed Samsam-ud-daula, Ashgah-ul-Mulk, Khan Dauran, General Gerard Lake Bahadur, Fateh Jang. He afterwards became Lord Lake of Delhi and Laswari and Aston Clinton, but valued his Moghal title none the less.

As a special distinction, the Governor-General presented an honorary colour to each regiment which had been engaged in the battle. Rs. 5,40,000 left by M. Dugeon were distributed among the troops as prize money.

Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony, commanding the 2nd|12th B.N.I. which had fought at Plassey, and deputy Adjutant-General of the Company's troops, was appointed Resident at Delhi. The garrison left consisted of one battalion B.N.I. and four companies, and a battalion was raised from the disbanded infantry of Scindia. The remaining regular forces of Scindia in Hindustan were disposed of at Agra and at Laswari, where they fought most bravely, but there was yet another Mahratta chieftain to be reckoned with, Jaswant Rao Holkar. He had Pathan, Musulman and Pindari horse, and good

infantry strengthened by a remnant of Scindia's men. In July 1804 he drove back on Agra a British force under Colonel Monson, a brave but incompetent commander. The support troops were cantoned at Cawnpore and elsewhere for the rainy season. Holkar advanced to Muttra, which was abandoned to him on September 15th by a force of four battalions and two cavalry regiments. He then demonstrated against General Lake's force at Agra with his cavalry, despatching his infantry and artillery to Delhi, consisting of twenty thousand men and one hundred and ninety-two guns. On the way he caused to be strangled behind a screen, while his chiefs were being entertained to a banquet, a British soldier, whom he had taken prisoner.

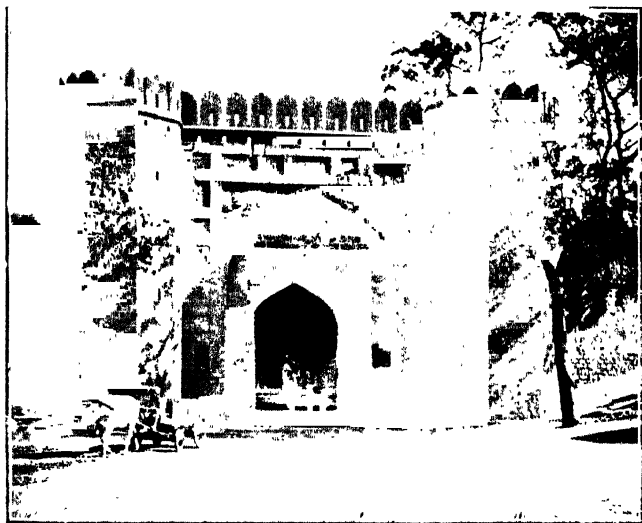
The garrison of Delhi, one battalion only, was hastily reinforced from Saharanpur, Rohtak and Panipat. It then consisted of two battalions and four companies of sepoys (but not a single European company), two regiments of irregular horse, some four hundred tilungas (regular sepoys) of Scindia's old army, and a corps of najibs, or matchlock men. The old walls of Shahjahan were crumbling into ruins, in many places there was no parapet, no ditch had yet been made, and houses permitted an enemy to advance right up to the walls. The inhabitants were scarcely friendly, the palace retainers decidedly unfriendly, and eight companies of the small force had to be detached to garrison the place. The resident was Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony, the military commander Lieut.-Colonel Burn, who had been summoned, with his battalion, from Saharanpur.

The available troops were drawn out three miles on the Muttra road, while the walls were placed in some state of repair. Soon prisoners of Colonel Monson's detachment, shockingly mutilated, announced the near approach of the enemy, on hearing of which the irregular cavalry and the najibs either deserted or mutinied. They met with prompt punishment, nine of the ringleaders being blown from a gun, but it was evident that their assistance was not to be counted on. Not one of the regular sepoy's showed a bad spirit, but they were few in number to receive the attack of the formidable Mahratta force, which arrived on the 7th of October, and quickly drove the defenders within the walls.

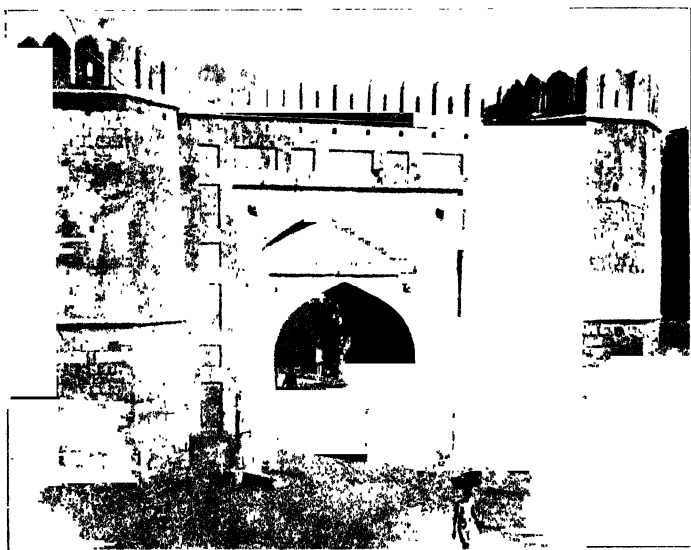
At this juncture the resident received a letter from the commander-in-chief, General Lake, ordering the troops to defend the palace only until he could collect an army to relieve the place. Colonel Burn, however, took the responsibility of refusing to listen to orders which had not been sent to himself, and turned a deaf ear to the instructions of the resident, who was junior to himself in the army. He decided to defend the outer walls to the last.

The enemy's artillery being placed in batteries soon made numerous breaches in the shaky old walls; his point of attack was the tower at the south-east angle, called the "Nili Burj," now improved into the Wellesley Bastion. The rotten wall came down in large masses, and a breach was formed nearly a hundred yards long, but an earthwork was made in rear, and was repaired as fast as it was





AJMERE GATE.



TURKMAN GATE.

damaged by the heavy fire. An attempt to storm was repulsed, and gradually the defences at this point were made so strong as to relieve anxiety. A successful sortie against the enemy's batteries, on the night of the 10th of October, made him turn his eyes to another point of attack. The Ajmere Gate, and the curtain between that gate and the Turkman Gate, were now bombarded, but similar measures of defence resisted all attempts to enter the city. After a final assault on the 14th, the Mahrattas retired next day towards Rewari, three days before the commander-in-chief, General Lake, with a relieving force from Cawnpore and Agra, reached Delhi. Had the enemy attacked at several points simultaneously and vigorously in the long enceinte the place must have fallen, but that does not detract from this most gallant defence.

In 1805 it was settled that Shah Alam should receive a monthly allowance from the East India Company of sixty thousand rupees, that other payment should be made to his relatives, amounting to an additional thirty thousand rupees per mensem, paid out of the revenues of land assigned for the purpose. Further, a sum of ten thousand rupees annually was to be paid to him on the occasion of certain festivals; no sentences of death passed on persons living within the city or the assigned territory were to be carried out without his sanction, according to ancient usage from the times of Aurangzeb at least. Sentences of mutilation were to be commuted at the rate of five years' imprisonment for each limb. He was exempt from the jurisdiction of the local courts. This was all that



remained to the Moghal "emperor," his rights to be called such not being recognized. Some Hindu rajas however asked for the royal sanction to investiture so late as 1813.

In 1805 (September 19th) Marquis Cornwallis, sent out for the second time as Governor-General in place of Lord Wellesley, and with orders to "stop the war," instructed Lord Lake to abandon everything including Delhi and the emperor to Daulat Rao Scindia. Lord Lake's remonstrance found Lord Cornwallis dead, and Sir George Barlow in his place, bound by the orders of the Court of Directors. But Lord Lake's arguments prevailed. On November 7th Lord Lake passed through Delhi in pursuit of Holkar, who was again on the move, but finally signed a treaty at Amritsar on January 7th, 1806. On February 15th Lord Lake reached Delhi on his return, and had to remain there two months to watch Holkar, unable to subdue him fully, as his hands were tied by the Governor-General.

In 1806 Shah Alam died, and was buried in the royal enclosure, near the shrine of Kutb-ud-din. He was succeeded by his son, **Akbar Shah II**, whose name recalls memories of a great emperor, but who had still less power than his father had enjoyed, if only for brief intervals. The events of his reign are only of interest so far as they are concerned with British administration. In 1808 his son Mirza Jahangir fired a pistol at the British resident, Mr. Archibald Seton, and was removed to Allahabad, to drink away his life in cherry-brandy. Akbar Shah had favoured him for the succession instead

of Abul Muzaffar (afterwards Bahadur Shah) on whose sanity doubts were cast; investigation however proved that he was sane. In 1809 the monthly allowances to the king and his family were increased to one lakh of rupees, and perhaps it was this accession of wealth which made him erect in that year the little balcony jutting out of the Musamman Burj. In 1811 he consented to further restrictions at the instance of Charles Metcalfe. Coins however, still continued to be struck in his name until the reign of William IV.

About this time the remodelling of the walls was in full swing, for in 1811 the college of Ghazi-ud-din, near the Ajmere Gate, was included within an outwork. In 1820, when Sir David Ochterlony, first of the officers of the Company's Army to receive the distinction of K.C.B., had returned as resident, the canal of Ali Mardan Khan was cleared by Lieutenant Rodney Blane, and water again ran through the streets, of Delhi, to the great delight of the inhabitants. In 1829 St. James' Church was commenced. In 1832 Delhi was included in the North-Western Provinces. In the same year Mr. William Fraser was appointed agent to the governor general, and on March 22nd, 1835, he was murdered, as has been elsewhere described; in the following October the Nawab of Ferozpur was hanged for complicity in the act. On the death of Mr. Fraser, Mr. Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, who had been connected with Delhi since 1806 as assistant-resident, collector, and judge, was appointed agent to the governor-general; he remained in this appointment until his death, establishing his

residence at Delhi, and sending to England for all his possessions, including his library, with which he adorned his magnificent mansion. In 1845 Mr. Metcalfe became Sir Thomas, the baronetcy devolving on him through the elevation of Sir Charles Metcalfe to a peerage; he also had been Resident at Delhi. Their father, the first baronet, had been one of the directors of the Honourable East India Company.

In 1837 Akbar Shah died, and was buried next to his father. There now ascended the throne of Delhi the last of the Moghals, **Bahadur Shah**, in the same year as Queen Victoria came to the throne. Bahadur Shah was then sixty years old, and became yearly more and more feeble, but he stood very much on his dignity and insisted on Europeans removing their shoes in his presence. He was addicted to the composition of poetry like his father.

Lord Ellenborough discontinued the practice of offering presents at the two Ids, the Nauroz, and the King's Birthday, and his authority was restricted to the precincts of the palace. Lord Ellenborough also stopped the audiences and the presenting of frippery khilats in exchange for four gold mohurs, considered by some a great imposition. In 1848 the Marquis of Dalhousie visited Delhi, but did not visit the king, exchanging messages only.

The desirability of continuing for ever the succession to a kingdom, which was entirely nominal, was a matter which could not fail to be

constantly before the minds of successive governor-generals; no governor-general visited the king after Lord Hastings was refused a chair on the same level with the king's chair, and, after the heir-apparent died in 1849 the question was raised by Lord Dalhousie. A committee was appointed to consider the question, and included the new heir-apparent, Fakhr-ud-din, who was willing to agree to terms by which, on the death of the old king, he was to retire to the Kuth with only the externals of royalty. A document to this effect was therefore drawn up, signed, and sealed in 1852.

The principal queen, Zinat Mahal, endeavoured to get the old king to favour her son, Jawan Bakht, for the succession, and to this he agreed, but was unable to move the Government from their decision. She therefore determined on revenge. Sir Thomas Metcalfe died on November 3rd, 1853, of symptoms of vegetable poison, supposed by some to have been administered at her instigation. In 1854 the Royal Family were informed that they would have to retire to the Kuth after the death of Bahadur Shah, and Zinat Mahal had a stormy interview with Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, in consequence. On July 10th, 1856, Fakhr-ud-din, the heir-apparent, died of poison, and Lord Canning had the question to decide afresh. On the recommendation of Mr. Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, he caused Mirza Mahomed Korash to be recognized as heir, but this prince was informed that, after the old king's death, he would only be styled "shahzada," or king's son, and would be given the reduced pension of fifteen thousand

rupees per mensem; Zinat Mahal's intrigues, therefore, were again fruitless. And so the line of the Moghal emperors would have quietly come to an end, had not the Fatal Sisters decided otherwise, and Atropos, with her shears, grimly cut the long thread of the Moghal dynasty.

At this time the Suez Canal had not been opened, but, by the "Overland Route," the passage to India from England took thirty-six days. This route involved journey by water from Alexandria to Cairo and by camel or mule cart to Suez. The alternative route round the Cape of Good Hope took about a hundred days to Calcutta. News of the Mutiny was sent by the overland route to Alexandria and by steamer to Trieste, from which port the despatch was telegraphed, reaching England on June 27th.

The Grand Trunk Road had been completed to the east bank of the Jumna by 1852, and horsed dak carriages, really palanquins on wheels, and mail carts ran from the East Indian Railway terminus, which had been opened in 1855 at Raniganj, 122 miles from Calcutta. Goods were sent by the Government Bullock Train, started in 1845 under the Post Office authorities. Above Delhi the Grand Trunk Road had not quite reached Umballa, but it was being extended in the Punjab where palanquins and bearers were used; an average day's journey was forty miles.

Foreign postage on letters was nine-pence for a quarter of an ounce by the overland route and sixpence by the Cape. A single telegraph line extended from Calcutta through Delhi to Umballa and

Peshawar with branches to Agra and Meerut. The rate was ten words per rupee.

In those days the covenants of civilians did not contain a thirty-five years' rule, and long service in the country was common. A General Marley, who died in 1842, had spent seventy-one years in India, and many who took a prominent part in 1857 would now be considered much too old. However, several of the generals in high command had not long arrived. The Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army was one.

The Army consisted partly of "Queen's" or "Royal" Regiments, the first of which had arrived in India in 1757, and took part in the battle of Plassey. There were now two cavalry and twelve infantry regiments in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab. There was a certain amount of jealousy displayed by the officers of the Company's armies, as is shown in the "Delhi Sketch Book" or "Punch."

The Company's European troops in Bengal consisted of nine troops of Horse Artillery and six "battalions" of foot artillery, manning field batteries, and three regiments of Fusiliers. The men included a number of Germans and enlisted for twenty-five years or for life. Each regiment had ten companies including a Grenadier and a Light, or a Rifle, Company.

The Sappers and Miners had twelve companies of Indians and had been until recently officered largely by line officers, who had been replaced by Engineer officers. The Indian artillery consisted

of four troops of horse and three battalions of foot artillery or "golandaz." There was also a Mountain Train and the Punjab Irregular Force had one of its own. This force also had three horse batteries and a foot artillery company.

There was no European cavalry, the ten regiments of Light cavalry being composed of Mahomedans and Hindus in about equal proportions, but they were fully officered by Europeans. There were eighteen irregular and five Punjab cavalry regiments, the latter the nucleus of the present Bengal cavalry.

The Bengal Infantry had seventy-four regiments, manned almost entirely by high caste sepoys from Oudh and the east, fine handsome men, hardly one under five feet nine inches. Each regiment had ten companies and nominally twenty-six officers, reduced usually by furlough, staff and civil employment. There were eighteen other regiments, of which the six Punjab Irregular Force regiments and the Corps of Guides merit notice. There were also many contingents and levies, and the popularity of service filled their ranks, although the material was not so good as the Oudh Rajputs, which officers of these contingents endeavoured always to attract. Individually these men might be sympathetic, but collectively they were coerced by their "panchayats" and were not consulted.

The European infantry soldier arrived before Delhi in June in what had been white drill hot weather clothing, wearing a peaked cap of pasteboard having a small white turban folded round

with a flap hanging down the neck. It may not be superfluous to remark that chloroform had not been introduced in 1857, and that the weapons of the time inflicted shattering, rather than piercing, wounds so that great pain was suffered.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE MUTINY OF 1857. AND THE SIEGE.

*See Plan of Siege Works, page 242.*

On the 10th of May, 1857, the Sepoys at Meerut mutinied, shot their officers, and started in a wild rush for Delhi, leaving the work of murder and outrage to be carried on by bad characters. The immediate cause of the mutiny had been the sentencing of eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Regular Bengal Light Cavalry to considerable terms of imprisonment, owing to their refusal to handle cartridges which for years they had used without the slightest protest. This was the work of agitators, who had represented that the cartridges were prepared in a manner designed to take away the caste of Hindus, and to defile Mahomedans.

The Government claimed that no greased cartridge was by authority used by the Sepoys and the Government was right, as the following narrative will show. The cavalry, both European and Native, were armed with pistol, sabre and lance, but fifteen men per troop in the Native Light Cavalry Regiments were armed with carbines. These were similar to, but shorter than, the muzzle loading musket, the old "Brown Bess," with which the whole of the Native Infantry was armed, and which dated from the Peninsular War. The rifle, of course, was not unknown, for the Rifle Brigade were armed with the Baker rifle in 1800, the Brunswick was introduced about 1837, and the

Minie in 1851. Certain Frontier Regiments and the Guides Infantry were armed with the Minie.

In 1855 at the end of the Crimean War, the Enfield muzzle loading rifle was introduced in certain Queen's Regiments, and it was contemplated to re-arm the Native Infantry with this rifle, as rapidly as possible. Consequently Musketry schools were established in January 1857 at Dum Dum, Umballa and Sialkot. Detachments of Native Infantry were sent to one or the other for instruction, as instructors to their Regiments. The cartridges for the old musket and old pattern rifles were blank. The drill prescribed that the top should be bitten off, and the contents poured into the barrel. There was thus nothing new in the practice of biting the cartridge. The bullets were carried separately in a bag and greased patches were used as wads. The important difference in the Enfield rifle cartridges was that the same paper enclosed both powder and bullet, that the latter was covered with lubricating matter, and that the cartridges were bundled end to end, so that the grease from the bullets flowed on to the powder end of the cartridges. Assuming that this grease was offensive, this new departure was bound to cause heart-burning in an Army composed (except in the Cavalry) practically entirely of high caste men drawn from one province of India, and very jealous of their religion. But Mahomedans also were sensitive to any doubt about the grease.

For drill purposes, however, in the Musketry schools, the cartridges were not greased, and no objection was raised in any school, for a time. In

fact the *Delhi Gazette* reported that sepoy's passing through on the breaking up of the schools had no objections to offer. The schools were broken up because a lascar at Dum Dum taunted a Sepoy with the approaching loss of his caste, owing to the intention of the Government to make him lose it, by using the new cartridge. The consternation spread and after various attempts to soothe it, by stopping the practice of biting, and altering the lubricating matter, it was thought best to give up the idea of re-arming for the time being. But a splendid opportunity was seized by agitators, working through the regimental councils of five, and so the whole Bengal army was incited to mutiny, by whom no one knows for certain.

It will be clear that the Third Cavalry had no real cause for complaint, but suspicion was a powerful factor, and only five of the ninety armed with carbines obeyed the order and took their cartridges when served out. A general court-martial composed of Indian officers found them guilty, after a Court of Enquiry had found nothing either new or offensive about the cartridges. But these same officers led them to Delhi.

The tempers of their comrades were aroused by the spectacle of the handing over of the convicted troopers at Meerut to the civil authorities, and by riveting on of fetters before their eyes, so that it only required a few taunts to arouse them to mutiny. They should have been hotly pursued in their flight by the European troops of the garrison, but the general would not consent; he was afterwards removed from his command. In a moment

British prestige vanished, mob law became paramount in the districts around Delhi, the city was occupied by an army of rebel soldiers of the Company's forces, and the question arose whether the British might not be driven into the sea. It was a force of British and loyal troops, drawn from the Punjab at great peril to the security of that province, which, without the aid of a single soldier from England, recovered Delhi, broke the back of the rebellion, and lent their aid to the Relief of Lucknow, which has, perhaps, obtained greater fame than the Siege of Delhi.

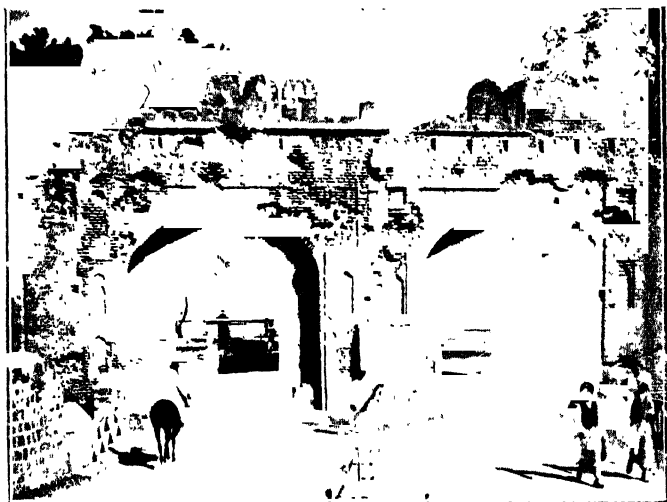
At Delhi, on the morning of the 11th of May there was no sign of the coming storm; the magistrates attended court at six in the morning, as was usual during the hot weather, and business was proceeding. Suddenly a report was brought in that rebel troopers had arrived from Meerut, that the toll-house at the far end of the bridge of boats was in flames, and that the Calcutta Gate had been closed against the mutineers. Off went the head magistrate to the cantonments behind the Ridge, to request assistance from the brigadier, who at once ordered down the 54th regiment of Bengal native infantry and two guns to deal with any riot that might arise. There were no European troops in Delhi at all, for the place was considered unhealthy for them, and the authorities had easily deferred to a request of the King of Delhi that none should be stationed there.

Nearly all the principal civil authorities now proceeded to the Calcutta Gate of the city, in order to interview the rebels; they were accompanied by

the captain of the Palace Guard, who lived over the Lahore Gate of the palace, and was considered, in Bishop Heber's time, one of the King's domestics. But the party was attacked by rebel troopers, who had effected an entrance into the city by the Rajghat Gate, below the palace; after the encounter they retreated to the Lahore Gate of the palace, where they were massacred by the king's retainers. With them perished the Chaplain of Delhi, his daughter, and a lady friend of hers, who were staying there on a visit.

Meanwhile, the 54th Bengal Native Infantry had marched down to the Cashmere Gate, and through the enclosure, in which was posted the main guard, drawn from the 38th Bengal Light Infantry, the "Ballamteers." The colonel was riding at the head, the officers seem to have been accompanying him as he rode. They were suddenly charged by some of the Meerut troopers, and the colonel, four other officers, and the European sergeant-major were cut down, all the last five being killed; the other officers and the regimental surgeon had to fly for their lives. Their men did not attempt to defend them, but the muskets were not loaded. The regiment then went over to the mutineers.

It was now about nine o'clock, and until four in the afternoon all was fairly quiet in the civil lines and cantonments. Small bodies of troops were moved backwards and forwards between the Cashmere Gate and cantonments, but did not proceed into the city to quell the riot. Meanwhile, the Europeans and others, including a number of clerks



CASHMERE GATE.



REMAINS OF MAIN GUARD ENCLOSURE.



and pensioners who lived in Dariaganj, were the helpless prey of the bad characters of the city, who were not slow to take advantage of the arrival of the rebels; whole families were massacred. Such as were taken prisoners were not allowed to live, being put to death after five days, in the court of the Nakkar Khana, near a small cistern under a tree.

The officer in charge of the arsenal, Lieutenant George Willoughby, had only a few conductors and non-commissioned officers of the Ordnance Department with him, if we except a guard of native infantry, who were rebels at heart. He soon saw that, without help from Meerut (which all confidently expected), the stores of ammunition and many guns must fall into the hands of the rebels. He therefore arranged some light guns in positions from which they might be served with the greatest effect against an attack, and, as a last resort, saw that trains of gunpowder were laid to the magazines, so as to blow them up if it were necessary. Arms were issued to the native artificers and lascars, but they were not prepared to use them, and escaped at the first attack, so that the whole defence devolved on nine Europeans.

All these preparations took some little time, but a respite was afforded by the fact that the palace people were looking towards Meerut before committing themselves too far. It was only on the return of a camel sowar, about 3 p.m. with the intelligence that no British troops were pursuing, that the attack was ordered. When it came the defence could not last long; the attackers, mounting on



scaling ladders, were often swept from the walls, but nearly all of the defenders were wounded; no cloud of dust arose on the Meerut road, all hope of succour was gone. So the signal was given, the trains were fired, the small arm magazine went up into the air, carrying with it a number of the attackers and shaking the whole city, thus depriving the enemy of two million rounds.

At the sound of the explosion the Sepoys of the main guard at the Cashmere Gate became restive, and mutiny developed quickly in cantonments. The officers and ladies, who had taken refuge at the Cashmere Gate (most of these were residents in this quarter of the city) were now fired on, and would not have escaped with their lives, had it not been for the proximity of the Treasury and the desire of the Sepoys for loot. And now those had to turn and flee who had passed an anxious day, collected within the narrow limits of the Flagstaff Tower, surrounded by Sepoys, whose tempers could not be judged.

And so let us leave Delhi for a while, in the hands of mutineers and of the bad characters of the population, looting on all sides, murdering all who called themselves Christians, cravens whom a few resolute men could keep at bay, while the odds were less than fifty to one. Over all was a pall of smoke from burning bungalows and from the stately mansion of Metcalfe House, which had been set on fire by the villagers of Chandrawal.

It had, fortunately, been possible to send by telegraph to Umballa some account of what had been happening at Delhi, and the general there was

a man of action; he at once sent off his son to Simla with a copy of the telegram, for there was no wire to Simla in those days. It was not the centre of government, but merely a pleasant place to spend the summer in, should the governor-general or commander-in-chief so desire. The latter, General the Hon. George Anson, had been there for about a month, and had, on his way up, seen something of the trouble that was brewing. He was now to be very severely startled, although at first he did not seem to realize that any very serious defection had occurred. However, when he got a letter from Meerut, detailing the events there, he lost no time in ordering down to Umballa three European regiments, cantoned at Dagshai, Subathu, and Kasauli, close to Simla. An officer was sent to arrange the preparation of a third-class siege-train at Phillour, and the Sirmur Gurkhas, who distinguished themselves so greatly, were ordered from Dehra Dun to Meerut. General Anson himself left for the plains on the morning of the 14th to take command of the relieving force. The Maharaja of Patiala sent troops to occupy Thanesar, and, later, Umballa was confided to his care; the Maharaja of Jhind sent a contingent to Karnal, and other chiefs assisted to guard the communications, for no reliance could now be placed on the Sepoy army.

The next few days were spent in the organization of transport by the civil authorities, in the supply to guns and infantry of ammunition, of which they had next to none, and in the collection of supplies of food and fodder. The troops were then pushed forward in small bodies to Karnal,

where General Anson died of cholera on the 27th of May. On that same evening a force at last left Meerut, and marched to Ghazi-ud-din-nagar, now Ghaziabad, where, on the 30th of May and following day, it gave the rebels two sharp lessons, and repulsed their attacks with loss. On the 4th of June this force marched to effect a junction with the Umballa force at Alipur, on the right bank of the Jumna, and twelve miles above Delhi.

Sir Henry Barnard, on whom had devolved the command, lost no time, after the arrival of the siege-train on the 6th, and of the Meerut force on the 7th, in advancing on Delhi. At 2 a.m. on the 8th of June the small army—seven hundred cavalry, two thousand five hundred infantry, and twenty-two guns—left camp, and at dawn came under the enemy's fire from their position at Badli-ki-Sarai. The action was a short one, the guns were taken at the point of the bayonet by a dashing charge, and the cavalry, coming on the enemy's rear, completed the rout. Advancing still, in spite of wavering counsels, the general had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy brushed away and the Ridge retaken.

And now, so some contend, a still further advance might have seen the city taken, and the trials of a siege avoided. Certainly the maxim of "*L'audace, toujours l'audace,*" is one which both English and French have found most successful in engagements with Indian troops. But the men had already marched ten miles and had fought two actions; this, in the burning sun of the 8th of June, was enough for one day. Nor were the enemy disheartened or even content to allow them

to rest. A heavy fire was opened from the walls, and an accurate one, for all the ranges had been previously tried, while in the afternoon the first of many attacks was delivered on the right of the position, so that the troops had to leave off pitching their camp to fight a third action. The rebels were repulsed, and night fell to the accompaniment of the boom of heavy guns, while the engineers were busily throwing up batteries for the guns and mortars, in order to reply to the cannonade. The day had diminished the small force by 184 casualties, to counterbalance which twenty-six guns had been captured, and a considerable number of the enemy killed or driven in panic to their homes.

But many mutineers had collected during the past month in Delhi, and on the 9th they again advanced to the attack of the right flank. They were again driven back, the Corps of Guides, which had arrived in the morning, after a march of five hundred and eighty miles in twenty-two days, lending valuable assistance. The 10th and 11th saw further attacks, and on the 12th of June the rebels surprised the left flank, and as nearly as possible got into camp. Fortunately help soon arrived, and the enemy were pursued with such vigour that Metcalfe House was occupied and henceforth held by piquets. The right was also attacked, but no ground was lost, and similar ill-success attended the efforts of the enemy on the 13th and 15th of June.

Meanwhile, the placing of guns in batteries at Hindu Rao's house, at the "Observatory," and on the General's Mound, steadily progressed, but they

fired with little effect, while the heavier guns of the enemy battered Hindu Rao's incessantly. A project to storm the city on the night of the 12th had been stopped by delay in withdrawal of the piquets, to the relief of all, except a few who were over-sanguine of success. An entrance might have been effected, but a disastrous reverse would probably have followed.

On the 16th of June the rebels were reinforced by a body of mutineers from Nasirabad, a certain prelude to a fresh attack, which was delivered on the 19th. Previously, on the 17th, an attack had been made on the enemy to stop the throwing up of a battery, which had been commenced in the Kishanganj sarai, situated on the high ground just beyond the canal. The action was successful, and a source of possible annoyance stopped for the time being.

The attack of the 19th was a serious affair. The enemy this time kept away among the trees in the Sabzimandi, where they could only be observed with difficulty, suddenly appearing beyond the Ochterlony Garden in rear, and opening a hot fire. It was then nearly dusk, and the cavalry, hastily collected, were in some confusion; the troops had been under arms all day, uncertain when the attack might be delivered, and had just been dismissed to their tents. Consequently, for a time, the mutineers had it all their own way, worked round astride of the line of communications, and nearly captured some of the guns; the gunners, in the darkness, fired on the cavalry, which was naturally very demoralizing. At last some infantry was

sent out, and the enemy was slowly driven back until the firing gradually died out. At dawn the next morning there were no signs of the enemy, but they appeared later, only to hurry back to the city when the guns opened fire on them. This action cost nearly a hundred casualties, and to prevent a repetition of a rear attack two heavy guns were put in a battery on the race-course.

On the 21st of June the enemy received an additional reinforcement, in the shape of mutineers from Jullundur and Phillour, who marched across the bridge of boats unmolested by guns, which could not range so far. Two days afterwards the first reinforcement from the Punjab reached the camp, after making a double march, and only just in time. For June 23rd, 1857, was the centenary of Plassey, and saw another fierce attack from the Sabzimandi, the rebels fighting desperately, for they had been told that the day would see the end of British supremacy in India. It was a fearfully hot day; the men were quite exhausted by the sun's ardour, blinded by a terrible glare, and fainting for want of water. Three times were the gardens cleared of rebels, and not till sundown was the issue certain, but a substantial gain, to compensate for a hundred and sixty casualties, was the taking of a temple and sarai, in the Sabzimandi, which were later occupied by a piquet, and considerably protected this flank.

On the 27th of June the periodical rains set in, and the same day saw simultaneous attacks on the Metcalfe piquets, the Ridge batteries, and the

Sabzimandi posts, but all were repulsed. A similar fate met an attack on the right, three days later. On the 28th of June and 1st and 2nd of July reinforcements reached the camp, but this accession of strength was more than counterbalanced by the arrival in the city of the Rohilkand brigade of mutineers, who crossed the river on the 1st of July, bands playing and colours flying, under the command of a subadar of artillery, Bakhtawar Khan. The enemy's force is estimated to have been nineteen thousand strong, while the besiegers did not muster more than five and a half thousand.

Great disappointment had been felt, and expressed, by the highest civil authorities that Delhi had not long ago been taken by storm; they rated the courage and fighting qualities of the mutineers at far too low a level; the experience of the troops, who were daily engaged with them, showed that they possessed a good deal of both. The civilian population were being plundered right and left, and therefore had no sympathy with the rebels, but they were completely cowed, and could be expected to give no aid to the avenging army. Still, the general felt that he might venture the "gambler's throw," and risk an assault, which he fixed for the dawn on the 3rd of July. On the 2nd it was found that treason was rife among some of the Hindustani soldiers in camp, and such a number of them were felt to be untrustworthy, that it would have been unwise to leave them to guard the camp while the European soldiers were lost among the narrow lanes of Delhi. Moreover, the rebels had good information of the proposed attack, and moved

out on the morning of the 3rd, after the orders for assault had been countermanded.

Later in the day the rebels devised the plan of cutting the communications by an attack on Alipur, and of capturing a convoy which was known by them to be on the road. They succeeded easily enough in attacking and capturing the village, but the convoy had been warned to halt; the mutineers had not the enterprise to go to meet it, or even to retain their position, but returned to Delhi on the following morning, meeting with some punishment on the way. Had there been a good general among the rebels in Delhi, and had he been allowed his way without palace interference, the result might have been very different indeed.

On the 5th of July Sir Henry Barnard died of cholera, the second commander of the Delhi field force to succumb to that dread disease. He was not in supreme command before Delhi, for General Anson had been succeeded, as provincial commander-in-chief, by Major-General T. Reed, C.B., H. M. Service, who, however, although he had arrived at Alipur on the night before the advance to Delhi, had left all arrangements, then and afterwards, in Sir H. Barnard's hands. He now assumed command of the field force, but the real commander was Colonel Neville Chamberlain, the adjutant-general.

On the 8th of July a series of operations for the destruction of the bridges over the canal and the Najafgarh drain was completed by the blowing up of the Bassi bridge over the latter, some



three miles distant from the camp. A strong escort of all arms accompanied the engineers, but did not see the enemy. While they were away a desperate attack was made on the Sabzimandi posts, which was repulsed with slight loss but considerable slaughter among the enemy. Constant exertion on the part of the engineers had cleared away the houses and obstacles on this side, so that a clear field of fire was now obtainable.

On the 9th the irregular cavalry showed plainly that they were not to be trusted. Some of the 9th irregular Cavalry were on patrol duty on the extreme right, and let in a body of rebel sowars, who suddenly charged the piquet near the General's Mound. A troop of the Carabineers broke at the unexpected charge, but the gallantry of a few officers, who dashed forward to a hand-to-hand engagement, and the steadfastness of the gunners, saved a disaster, and the invading sowars escaped with some difficulty and loss. Meanwhile, a furious cannonade was opened from the walls, and the enemy mustered thickly in the gardens towards the Sabzimandi, necessitating another "rathunt," at considerable loss, for the list of casualties totalled 223. The irregular cavalry were now either sent away or disarmed, and the native horse artillery troop were deprived of their guns; several officers protested against this course, but Sir John Lawrence was peremptory in insistence on this step.

All was now quiet until the 14th of July; possibly the enemy were sobered by recent heavy

losses. But on that day they pluckily came on again, still on the Sabzimandi side; again there was a counter-attack, contempt for the enemy leading the men to approach much too close to the walls, with the result that grape-shot caused a casualty roll of over two hundred, among whom was Colonel Neville Chamberlain, with his left arm splintered.

On the 16th there arrived the mutineers from Jhansi, and also intelligence of the assumption by Sir Patrick Grant, who had been summoned from Madras, of the office of commander-in-chief of the Bengal Army. So Major-General Reed, who was in very poor health, took sick leave, and handed over charge to Colonel Wilson, commandant of the Bengal Artillery, giving him the temporary rank of brigadier-general. This caused considerable annoyance to officers who were senior to Wilson, one or two of whom left the force. Exception also was taken to the appointment because he had been blamed to some extent for the indecision, which had allowed the mutineers to escape unscathed from Meerut. It was felt, however, that he was the most efficient officer of senior rank for the post, and he gradually won the confidence of the men.

Major-General Reed left for the hills on the morning of the 17th, and an escort accompanied him as far as Alipur, guarding also a sick convoy which left at the same time. The presence of this escort prevented the carrying out of an attack on Alipur, which had been planned by the new arrivals from

Jhansi; the idea was to draw off the troops in pursuit while other rebels attacked the camp, denuded of its defenders. The second part of the programme was carried out on the 18th, but the attack was again repulsed, and the enemy once more pursued; the officer commanding the counter-attack had, however, learnt experience, and would not allow the pursuit to be carried too far, while he conducted the retirement with great ability. He lost fewer men by far than was usual, yet the casualties amounted to over eighty. The enemy attacked again on the 20th and 21st, but neither side pressed hard. These constant affairs were realized to be expensive, and all idea of assault was definitely abandoned until after a preparation by siege-works.

On the 23rd the enemy brought guns out of the Cashmere Gate, and shelled the left of the position on the Ridge, the light guns replying, but with little effect. A small force was sent to stop the annoyance, and nearly took the enemy's guns, but failed owing to a misunderstanding and an unusual lack of dash. The next few days were very rainy, and all was quiet. On the 26th the rebels from Neemuch arrived, but they took some days' rest, and it was not until the 31st that a large force moved to the right rear of camp, with materials to repair one of the broken bridges over the drainage-cut, and thus get round in rear. The rain came down in torrents, but still they worked steadily on.

The 1st of August was the day of the "Bakra Id," one of the two great Mahomedan festivals.

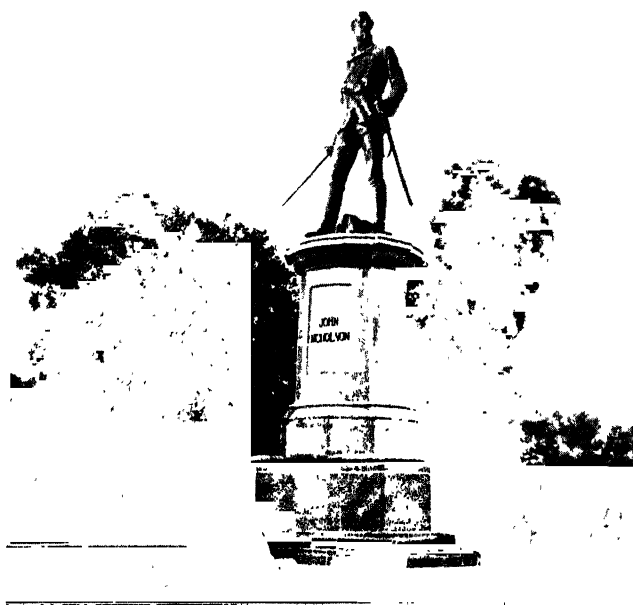
The enemy completed their bridge, and some had actually crossed, when a great flood came down the Najafgarh drain, as the result of the heavy rain of the day before and more rain on this day; the timbers of the bridge were carried away, so the rebels returned to the city. On their way a large force from the city met them, and the two bodies joining hurled themselves against the end of the Ridge. The attack commenced at sunset, and a heavy fire was kept up all night, fresh bodies renewing the attack as the defenders repulsed each effort. The shouting, bugling, and rattle of musketry were incessant all through the night and a great part of the following day, for it was not until about four o'clock in the afternoon that at length the rebels ceased their efforts. Now was seen the result of the constant work of the engineers to improve the trenches, for the casualties in this, the fiercest attack of all, did not amount to more than forty-six, of whom ten only were killed. The enemy naturally suffered heavily, a hundred and twenty-seven bodies being counted in one place alone.

This was enough to keep the enemy quiet for three days, but on the 6th of August they attacked the right batteries, once more without success. Under cover of this attack, and during the following night, they threw up a heavy-gun battery in Kishanganj. This opened fire on the 7th, and, after being silenced for a time, re-opened on the 8th, and kept up a most annoying fire, supplemented by rockets, which, however, were very erratic.

On the 7th the cartridge factory of the enemy was blown up, killing a considerable number, and causing much perturbation in the city. On this day also Brigadier John Nicholson came in by mail-cart, ahead of the Punjab movable column which he commanded; he went round the position, and returned to his column on the 11th.

On the 8th the enemy, ever active, began shelling the Metcalfe piquets, and kept this up daily until it became unbearable. The general had promised Nicholson that his column should have the privilege of stopping this nuisance directly they arrived, but now decided not to wait. So, at dawn on the 12th, a small column surprised the sleeping rebels near Ludlow Castle, captured four guns and killed a number of the enemy, not without loss; there were over a hundred casualties in this affair. The enemy were not daunted, and started rocket-fire that evening, worrying the Metcalfe piquets with musketry all through the night, and finally ceased the annoyance at dawn on the 13th, after a week of constant firing. A week later they opened a heavy-gun battery across the river, which was clean out of range of any guns which were in position on that side; the fire of this battery made Coke's Rifles shift their camp, which was below the Flagstaff Tower on the city side of the Ridge.

On the 14th of August the column under Nicholson marched into camp to the music of the band of H. M. 8th Foot, and amid great enthusiasm. At midnight on the same day Hodson took a small party of horse and made a tour through the district around Rohtak, at which place he fought a



JOHN NICHOLSON.



brilliant little action with entire success; he returned on the 24th. On the night of the 19th Nicholson took out a small column to relieve Hodson's party, about the safety of which some nervousness was felt; but the road was impassable after heavy rain, and the troops soon returned, drenched through. Otherwise, nothing of importance happened before Delhi; bands played of an evening, and the rigours of campaigning were somewhat alleviated by the arrival of Parsee merchants with two thousand dozen of beer!

But this was only the lull before the storm, and the morning of the 24th saw the enemy come out in great force (some six thousand men with sixteen guns) and bear away to the south; they were evidently making a detour to cut the line of communications and intercept the siege-train. A strong column was at once ordered out, and Nicholson was given the command; they left at 4 a.m. on the 25th, marched by Azadpur, across the Pembari Bridge over the canal, and made their way south-west by country roads. The rain came down in torrents, flooding the flat country and hollow roads, and making the ground so heavy that, after seven hours of marching, only nine miles had been covered. A halt was now called while a reconnaissance was made, which resulted in the discovery of the enemy some five miles further on, near the village of Najafgarh. The troops at once pressed forward, but a deep stream intervened, and it was not until about 5 p.m. that the column had crossed, the baggage having been left behind. Then events moved quickly. The key of the enemy's



position was a walled garden on their left, so, while the right was held in check by some horse artillery guns, escorted by cavalry, the main body attacked the garden. Nicholson made a short speech, reminding the men of the battle of Chillianwallah, and how on that occasion fire was reserved until within short charging distance, and he exhorted them to do the same. The guns poured in a rapid fire, the line advanced, poured in a volley at short range, and the garden was carried by storm in a few moments. Then the troops were reformed, the whole of the enemy's line was rolled up, thirteen guns were captured, and the rebels fled towards Delhi. Only part of the enemy's force was engaged, for the Rohilkand brigade had taken matters very leisurely, and were some distance behind, while the prompt attack did not admit of their coming up in time. The troops, hungry and tired, bivouacked on the field, and on the following morning, after breakfast, returned to camp, arriving there at dusk amid great enthusiasm. Thus the last effort of the rebels was frustrated, and the Neemuch brigade of mutineers was practically destroyed, at a cost of a little over a hundred casualties. On the morning of the 26th the rebels came out from the city and attacked the camp, which they expected to find deserted, but soon discovered their mistake and retired. They made no further attack on the position until the siege-batteries were opened.

And now commenced the last chapter. All through the month of August the engineers under Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Baird-Smith had been busy, preparing gabions, fascines, and other

materials in readiness to start the siege-works directly the train should arrive from Ferozepore. On the 27th of August a battery was commenced to the left of the "Sammy-house," to cover the construction of the real siege-batteries; the ground in front was cleared of brushwood, and survey operations were carried out. On the 4th of September the siege-guns arrived, drawn by elephants; they were at once altered for bullock draught, for elephants would not take guns under fire, but the bullock was not sufficiently intelligent to mind. During the next few days came the last reinforcements, comprising, amongst others, the contingents of the Maharajas of Jammu and Jhind. The effective strength was now about twelve thousand, but the contingents of the Native States were very poorly armed indeed.

On the night of the 6th the "Sammy-house" battery was armed, and on the night of the 7th, while the guns on the Ridge opened fire to draw off the enemy's attention, the first siege-battery was traced, and constructed in two parts. There was little soil to be scraped on the spot, so sand-bags had been filled in readiness and kept close by; earth also was brought from the ravine and filled into gabions. Hundreds of camels were used to bring down the gabions and fascines of brushwood. Considering the confusion and the noise caused by these unwieldy animals, all mixed up in a mass with teams of bullocks bringing down the guns and cartloads of ammunition, it was marvellous that so much work was done that night, still more wonderful that the enemy did not hear the noise and open

a devastating fire. However, they did not do more than send across a few rounds of grape until the morning, when they quickly awoke to the situation, and did not spare the scarcely completed and very partially armed batteries. During the night the left attack had been fortunate enough to be able to occupy the Kudsia Bagh and Ludlow Castle without any opposition.

The morning of the 8th found the new batteries receiving very warm attention from the Mori Bastion; but gradually the guns were got into position, and in the afternoon had almost silenced the guns on the bastion. The enemy's gunners, however, who had fought splendidly all through, had not lost their pluck, and by various devices managed to keep up in a slow fire. The left half of No. I battery got to work on the Cashmere Gate; but this was only intended to be temporary, until the four guns could be moved into another and a closer battery. The enemy's cavalry made a sortie against the new batteries during the course of the day, but were met with showers of grape, and quickly retired with considerable loss. Nor did the enemy meet with any success when he opened fire, towards evening, with light guns and rockets from Kishanganj.

On the evening of the 8th the trees within the Kudsia Bagh were cleared away, with the idea of establishing a battery there; but this was found impracticable. No. II siege-battery was traced in two parts and commenced, but the experience of the previous night showed that the idea of making and arming a battery in one night was hardly

practicable, so that things were taken more easily. No. II battery was the big breaching battery of eighteen guns, on which all relied to do the bulk of the work; it was to form the breach near the Cashmere Bastion.

On the night of the 9th was started the battery in the "Custom-house;" little could be done beyond sand-bagging in the verandah, so as to obtain some shelter, and the working party was withdrawn at dawn. A battery for mortars was constructed on this same night under the cover afforded by some old buildings, which made a square, just outside the gate of the Kudsia Bagh, at a range of 400 yards from the wall. This battery was armed, but did not open fire at once, for it was considered advisable for all to unmask together. The enemy were not idle, but kept up a continual fire, and made more than one sortie.

It was not until the morning of the 11th that the great breaching battery and the mortar battery opened fire, the men jumping on to the parapets, after the first salvo, and cheering lustily. The walls began at once to crumble under the heavy fire directed at such short range, and the shells knocked away the parapets in fine style. Yet the enemy were not disheartened, and pluckily started to mount guns elsewhere, while their cavalry had the audacity to attack the rear of the camp, but got severely punished.

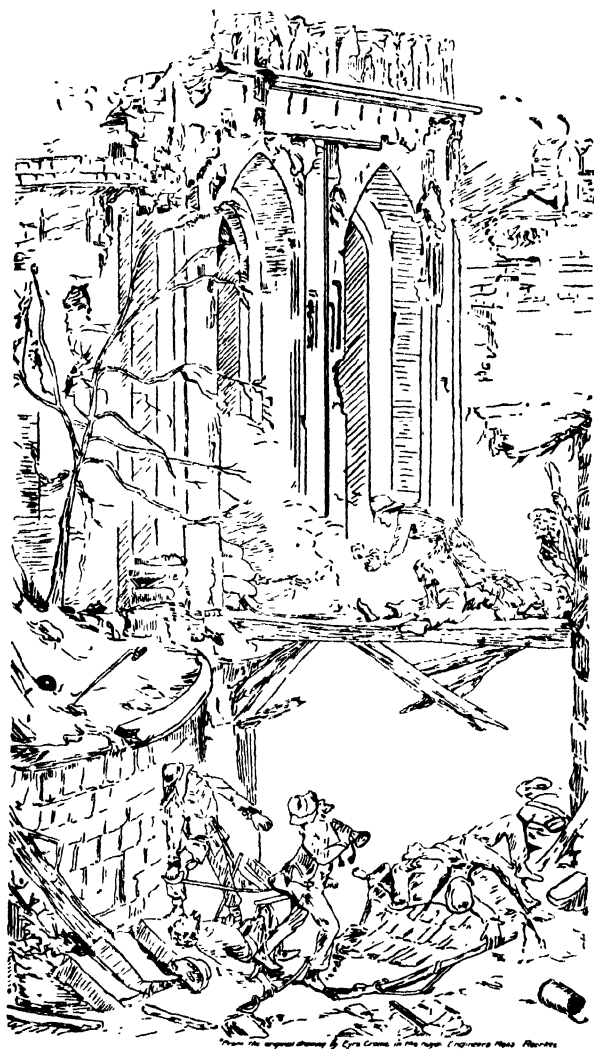
The "Custom-house" battery did not open fire until the afternoon of the 12th, although it had been ready and armed on the previous night, but the embrasures required adjustment, which caused

the delay. Some light mortars had been brought down to positions near by to lend their assistance, and to harass the enemy. And now the roar of fifty guns and mortars, great and small, filled the air. Some formed a breach in the curtain near the Water Bastion, others a breach near the Cashmere Bastion, others again, with the mortars, besides harassing the enemy with shells, tore away the musketry parapet all along the walls from the Water Bastion to beyond the Cashmere Gate, so that the stormers or the exploding party should not be exposed to the fire of men under cover. On the right the guns still pounded away at the Mori Bastion, and the enemy contributed their share to the din by constant fire from their enfilading battery outside the Cabul Gate, which did considerable execution as the shot crashed into the batteries from a flank.

For two days and two nights (during which salvos were fired every fifteen minutes) this went on, until the gunners and the cavalrymen who assisted them were nearly exhausted, for reliefs were not to be obtained. Come what might, the assault should not be delayed a day longer than could be helped, if the breaches were at all practicable; the engineers, after an examination on the afternoon and night of the 13th, were able to report them to be so, although another twenty-four hours would make them still better. But this was quite enough, and the assault was ordered for the following morning.

Long before dawn the columns began to form up, each about a thousand strong: No. 1 under





THE BLOWING OF THE KASHMIR GATE, DELHI, 14TH SEPT., 1857.

Nicholson, to storm the breach near the Cashmere Bastion, and to escalate the left face of the bastion; No. 2 to storm the Water Bastion breach, advancing from behind the "Custom-house" battery; No. 3 to advance down the road and enter the Cashmere Gate, after it had been blown in by the party under Home and Salkeld. Behind these three was a reserve column over twelve hundred strong, which the Rifles were to join after skirmishing in front of the storming columns. To the cavalry, about six hundred sabres, was given the task of guarding the batteries from a sortie, and away on the right the intrepid defender of Hindu Rao's house, Major Reid, was to attack Kishanganj with No. 4 column, a scratch force drawn from the piquets and the Jammu contingent, which did not count for much, being poorly armed.

The main assault succeeded, although it had to be made in broad daylight, for the guns had to reopen on the breaches, which had been repaired during the night. The Cashmere Gate was blown in, although the fire of the enemy nearly prevented the match being lighted, and killed more than one of the party. The walls were gained at the Cashmere and Water Bastions. But the enemy were not to be driven out of the city, and made just that stout resistance which had been anticipated by those who had demurred to the constant cry of "Why not assault?" in the early days of the siege. By evening hardly any of the city was held. On the left the Government College, Ahmad Ali Khan's house, and Skinner's house were occupied by the 3rd and Reserve Columns; but the rebels were still



in the magazine, and had guns pointing down all the streets, along which further advance could not be made. The 3rd column had been nearly to the Jama Masjid, but had been checked there; the rebels, coming down the Chandni Chouk in great force, had almost cut them off, and had driven them back to the vicinity of Skinner's House. The 1st and 2nd columns had not been able to work round the walls beyond the Cabul Gate, in a narrow lane near which John Nicholson had fallen mortally wounded. The 4th column had completely failed, for the delay in the advance to the main assault had necessitated a wait, which had disclosed the intentions of this column to the enemy, who occupied Kishanganj, and gave them a very warm reception. Many of the men had found stores of liquor in the shops, had been unable to resist the temptation, and were in no condition for more fighting, were indeed hardly able to defend themselves. The total loss during the day had been 1,170 officers and men killed and wounded. Had such a result followed an assault in the early days of the siege, it would have meant the withdrawal of the force, the spread of rebellion through the Punjab, and the driving of the British into the sea.

The next five days saw continual fighting, each step forward being stubbornly contested. The heavy guns were brought into the city, and a bombardment started; the Magazine was taken at dawn on the 16th, and on the same morning the rebels evacuated Kishanganj, which was found to be very strongly fortified. On the 17th the Delhi

Bank house was stormed. The posts were gradually pushed forward by sapping from house to house until nearly half the city was won, and the rebels and the population began to leave hurriedly. On the evening of the 19th the Burn Bastion was at last captured, after more than one failure. The following day saw the whole city and the palace in the hands of the exhausted troops. Headquarters were established in the Diwan Khas, and Major-General Wilson sent for a personal guard of the Sirmur Gurkhas, as a compliment to that gallant regiment. On the morning of the 21st a royal salute was fired to celebrate the victory.

On the morning of this same day Hodson, the "indefatigable," effected the capture of the King of Delhi, who had agreed to accompany the flying rebels, but had changed his mind and taken refuge at Humayun's tomb. The place swarmed with armed men, but Hodson, with only fifty sowars, quietly insisted on the surrender, to which the king agreed, on condition that his life should be spared; he was lodged in the palace without mishap, to the surprise of the general, who had sanctioned the enterprise, but did not expect its success. On the following day Hodson again proceeded to the tomb and effected the capture of three princes of the royal house—Mirza Moghal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, and Mirza Abu Bakr. He sent them off under escort, and remained himself to disarm their followers; having done so, he galloped after them, and found the escort threatened by a crowd. No promises of life had been extended to the princes, and Hodson deemed a rescue possible, so he shot

them himself—a regrettable action perhaps, but one which was approved at the time, and should not dim the lustre of his memory as a brave soldier.

On the 23rd of September John Nicholson, that lion-hearted hero, died at the early age of thirty-five, after suffering agony for nine days, but bearing it with extraordinary fortitude. He was buried on the following day in the Cashmere Gate Cemetery, just outside the walls which he had been the first to mount. On the same day a force left Delhi to relieve Agra, and to bear an honourable part in the Relief of Lucknow, thereby adding fresh laurels to those so gallantly earned before Delhi.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### DELHI SINCE 1857.

The recaptured city was put under martial law, a military governor was appointed, and search was made through all the wards for any Sepoys who might be lurking there in disguise. Numbers of them were captured and executed, hundreds of others, after a while, when the desire for vengeance had somewhat abated, were sent for transportation to the Andaman Islands. The Indians said, "Your vengeance is not dealt out in a day, like that of our previous conquerors." They meant that Timur and Nadir Shah massacred and were done with it, while no man who had been connected with the Mutiny could ever feel safe, even years after.

There was also a strict search made for loot of all kinds, which had been promised by Major-General Wilson to the soldiers, but Lord Canning took the view that all loot, the ownership of which could not be identified, was the property of Government. As compensation for the trials and dangers of a long siege, he awarded the soldiers six months' "batta," or field allowances, amounting to the paltry sum of thirty-eight rupees. One of the wounded soldiers, several of whom had lost a limb in the assault, chalked on the wall of the hospital in Delhi, "Delhi taken, and India saved, for thirty-eight rupees, or one rupee, eleven annas, eight pies

a battle!"\* The board of directors of the East India Company were pleased to ratify Lord Canning's action, but doubled the amount of the "batta." Lord Canning rescinded his order and granted the prize money, in addition promising also 5 per cent. interest until it was paid. The great delay in payment led the "Times" to suggest action against Government. Eventually prize money was distributed in two instalments ( in 1862 and 1865) at the rate of £17 to a private.

The Māhomedan inhabitants of the city were all turned out owing to the murders of certain European soldiers, and for some time only Hindus were allowed to return. It was a moot point, indeed, whether the whole city (or at least the Jama Masjid and the palace) should not be razed to the ground, but such counsels could hardly be seriously entertained. The city was garrisoned by that portion of the Delhi field force which had not been sent to relieve Agra and Lucknow, and the tired soldiers had a rest, but there was still work for them to do.

At the beginning of November intelligence was received of the approach of the Jodhpur Legion, which had mutinied at Erinpura and Mount Abu. A small force was sent, on the 10th of November, towards Rewari to engage the rebels, some two thousand strong. The going was very heavy, and the big guns sank to their axles while crossing the sandy beds of the rivers, so that it required the united strength of five elephants to pull them through. On the 16th the column was able to engage the enemy at Narnoul in a completely

successful action, killing about a hundred and fifty of them. The column then returned to Delhi. Other small forces also were sent from time to time to search the country, and to destroy wandering bands of mutineers. Eventually the troops in garrison were quartered in the Government College and the house of Ahmad Ali Khan, Skinner's house being the officers' mess. In 1859 the Indian infantry were cantoned in Dariaganj, and barracks were built in the palace for a wing of European infantry and a company of artillery; many buildings outside within a range of five hundred yards were swept away, and the palace has always since then been known as the Fort.

We have anticipated a number of important events which had occurred meanwhile. Towards the end of the year 1857 the principal accessories to the mutiny were indicted before military commissions. On the 13th of October two more sons of the old king, Mirza Bakhtawar Shah and Mirza Mahndu, having been found guilty, were shot in the Jumna river-bed by a party of riflemen. On the 18th of November twenty-four relatives of the king were executed. The Nawab of Jhajjar surrendered at his capital on October 17th, was brought into Delhi on the 20th idem, and was hanged on December 23rd. The Raja of Ballabgarh was arrested on November 6th by Showers and was hanged on January 9th, 1858. The principal witness was Sir John Theophilus Metcalfe. The father of this chief had been granted the lands surrounding Ballabgarh, a few miles south of Delhi, by General Lord Lake, in 1803, on condition that he should



adequately police the Muttra Road as far as Palwal. In those days dense jungle bordered the road on either side, while thieves, dacoits, and Thugs carried on their nefarious trade unmolested. Now the opening of the Agra Canal has caused the forest to disappear, and crops have taken its place.

On January 27, 1858, the old king himself was brought to trial before a military commission, composed of three "Queen's" and two "Company's" officers, on four charges, including the murder of forty-nine persons within the palace on the 16th of May. The trial lasted twenty-one days; a great many witnesses were called, including his own physician, Ahsanulla Khan; a quantity of documentary evidence was read, and all proved that he had given in his lot with the mutineers, and had assumed (as well as he could) the functions of royalty. That other and more astute minds had stirred up the Sepoys to mutiny seems almost certain; but he and his sons had definitely cast in their lot with them. The king had actually been one of the first to inform the Lieut.-Governor at Agra of the outbreak, but had afterwards gone with the tide, which indeed he could never have stemmed. He was found guilty of every one of the charges, but there was no desire to visit on him the extreme penalty, even had not promise of his life been extended to him. He was deported to Rangoon with his favourite queen, Zinat Mahal, and their son, Jiwan Bakht, and there he died in 1862. He was buried in the garden of a private house not far from the stockade in which he was kept a prisoner under guard.

On January 11, 1858, Delhi was made over to the civil authorities, and the civil courts were reopened in the following July. Most of the records had been destroyed during the troubles. On February 6, 1858, the Delhi territory was transferred from the jurisdiction of the North-West Provinces to the Punjab, as by right of conquest, and the Hissar and Delhi districts were formed.

On November 1, 1858, the Crown assumed the government of India by the famous proclamation, so often quoted. The governor-general was now termed Viceroy, and the Company's army was absorbed into the royal army. This took a little time to accomplish, and a certain amount of trouble was experienced, the European soldiers refusing to transfer their services without a bounty; there was what was called "The White Mutiny." It is possible that the niggardly treatment after the Siege of Delhi had something to do with this; but many took their discharge rather than join the forces of the Crown. Eventually in 1861, matters were satisfactorily settled, a bounty was given, and those who transferred their services were permitted to count their previous service for pension.

The Company's European Regiments were numbered from 101 to 109, the First European Bengal Fusiliers becoming the 101st Foot; in 1868 they went to England for the first time as a Regiment.

In 1863 the Mutiny Memorial on the Ridge was erected, to the memory of the officers and men who had died during the siege, by their comrades. In

1865 Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, laid the foundation-stone of St. Stephen's Church, near the Queen's Gardens, as a memorial to the Martyred Christians who fell at Delhi. The church was opened on May 11, 1867, the tenth anniversary of the massacre. There had been a Delhi Mission for some years previously to 1857, started by voluntary contributions from those who attended St. James's Church. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had lent its aid since 1854, and one of the missionaries, the Rev. A. R. Hubbard, was among the victims. After the Mutiny the mission was re-established, and in 1877 the Cambridge University Mission was amalgamated with it. The efforts of the mission in the direction of education have been great, and much good has been done by the establishment of hospitals. There has been a Baptist Mission also since 1813, and the Rev. J. Mackay took a noble part as a non-combatant in the defence of the house in Dariaganj; he was taken prisoner there and murdered.

The population of Delhi in 1847 numbered about a hundred and sixty thousand, but the Mutiny of 1857 caused a diminution in that number of over twenty thousand; so gradually did they return that in 1875 the inhabitants numbered only as many as in 1847. In the last fifty years however, the population has doubled, and Delhi has become the commercial capital and distributing centre for the whole of the northern portion of India. This is due to the fact, of which the old founder could never have dreamt, that Calcutta, Bombay, and Karachi are almost equidistant.

In 1857 the East Indian Railway had been opened from Calcutta to Raniganj, a distance of a hundred and twenty miles only, but the work of construction was in active progress up to Delhi. The alignment chosen from Agra was to the west of the Jumna, and the engineers who were at work on it escaped with difficulty. After the Mutiny the railway was taken from Tundla Junction, via Aligarh, to the east bank of the Jumna at Chola; this section was opened in 1864. The bridge was then still under construction, and the first regular train did not run into Delhi until January 1, 1867; the bridge, it may be mentioned, is over half a mile in length. In the same year the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi Railway entered by means of running powers granted from Ghaziabad Junction.

In 1873 the Rajputana State Railway connected Delhi with Bombay, and in 1891 the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway gave a shorter route to the north. In 1898 the Southern Punjab Railway was opened to traffic, and afforded a much shorter route to Karachi. In 1900 the opening of the Ghaziabad-Moradabad Railway, and the granting of running powers, gave the Oudh and Rohilkand Railway an entrance from the east. A shorter broad-gauge link with Bombay was given when the Agra-Delhi Chord Railway was opened on March 1, 1905, on much the same route as that originally proposed for the East Indian Railway.

Thus seven lines of railway radiate from Delhi.

In 1876 King Edward VII (then Prince of Wales) visited Delhi, and the regiments which had garrisoned the Main piquet in Hindu Rao's house

took up their old positions on the Ridge. He was entertained at a ball in the Diwan Khas, where the health of Queen Victoria had been proposed and drunk with acclamation after the recapture of the city. On the 1st of January in the following year the first British Empress of India was proclaimed by Lord Lytton, according to ancient custom, at Delhi.

The long reign of Queen Victoria came to an end, and on January 1st, 1903, a Coronation Durbar was held to celebrate the accession of King Edward VII. The camps were pitched between the Ridge and the Najafgarh jhil drain, the troops being camped west of the drain except the cavalry, which was at Badli-ki-sarai. A Light Railway was built from the Mori Gate running along the east of the Ridge, which it crossed near the "Khyber Pass" and then ran to the Durbar Amphitheatre with a branch to Azadpur. The East Indian Railway (or rather the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway, then the property of a separate Company) was extended to near the present Kingsway Station.

On December 29th, 1902, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, made a State entry into Delhi on elephants of which there was a long procession. In the train were the Governors and Heads of Provinces with over one hundred Indian State Rulers and Lord Kitchener the Commander-in-Chief, towards whom many interested eyes were turned. The route was from the main Railway Station round the Jama Masjid, along the Chandni Chouk to the Mori Gate and

thence to the Camp. It was a pageant full of colour and re-called ancient splendour.

Outside the amphitheatre on the Durbar day were thirty-seven thousand troops, and prior to the arrival of the Viceroy's procession, a small band of Mutiny veterans marched round the arena, rousing feelings of deep emotion. The King's speech re-called his visit to Delhi in 1876. Among the subsequent announcements of the Viceroy was one abolishing the various Staff Corps, and incorporating all officers in a united Indian Army. A State Banquet and a marvellous display of fireworks near the Jama Masjid closed the day's proceedings.

An Investiture on January 3rd in the Diwan Am, and a State Ball there on January 6th, were brilliant scenes of colour, and the Diwan Khas, lighted by electricity, was dazzling in its beauty. On January 8th a great Review was held. A charge of the Royal Horse Artillery with six thousand cavalry closed a most stirring spectacle.

In 1905 Prince George and Princess Mary of Wales had spent from the 12th to the 16th of December at Delhi, and visited many of the ancient monuments, so on their accession they determined to visit India and be the first British Sovereigns to do so. Naturally the assemblage of Indian and other chiefs was much augmented, and the camps extended from the Ridge to Azadpur and beyond, an enormous area being covered. The Light Railway was laid again, running from the Tis Hazari Maidan by a different route to the very much enlarged amphitheatre, containing twelve thousand privileged spectators and twenty thousand troops,

while sixty thousand other spectators were accommodated on a mound half a mile long. The broad gauge railway branches were considerably increased.

The State entry was made on December 7th 1911, the Royal train halting at a special station in Salimgarh, and the route being through the Fort to the Delhi Gate, past the Jama Masjid, through the Chandni Chouk and to the Ridge, where in a special pavilion an address was read before the procession resumed its way to the Royal Camp round the Circuit House. It was not possible to use elephants, as ancient tradition demanded that the principal feudatory should act as mahout. Also the elephant which carried Lord Curzon in the 1903 Durbar went mad the next day. The King-Emperor rode his charger on this occasion, the Queen being in a royal carriage and the Indian Princes either rode or occupied their carriages. This detracted somewhat from the effect, and indeed the people did not all appreciate when the King was passing. The presence of the Maharajas of Nepal and Sikkim and the Sawbwas of Burma, with strangely accoutred retainers bearing umbrellas and other emblems, were novel features, not seen in Moghal times.

The King Edward Memorial<sup>†</sup> near the Jama Masjid was not then ready, but a ceremony took place at the site on December 8th and the Great Durbar was held on the 12th to commemorate the Coronation in Westminster Abbey on June 22nd, 1911.

The King and Queen appeared in their magnificent coronation attire with royal purple robes and wearing crowns. In the King's crown were over six thousand jewels. The effect on the emotion of the people was so great that for two and a half hours after the departure of the sovereigns, thousands prostrated themselves in homage before the vacated thrones.

Important announcements were made. A grant of pay was made to all "other ranks" of both armies, and to the lower paid civil servants. Certain prisoners and debtors were released, the debts of the latter being paid, and at Calcutta alone six hundred and fifty-one were restored to freedom. Indian soldiers were made eligible for the award of the Victoria Cross. But the most impressive announcement was the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the constitution of Bihar and Orissa and Assam as separate provinces, with a reunited Bengal under a Governor instead of a Lieutenant-Governor, as hitherto. Such a change caused heartaches in several directions, and feelings of disappointment in Calcutta, but these cannot appeal altogether to the historian of the ancient Capital, now restored. Time no doubt will soften the blow, and the Viceroy still spends an amount of time in Calcutta, which is grudged by other provincial capitals.

On December 13th there was a Garden Party in the Palace during which the sovereigns performed the ancient practice of "darshan," showing themselves to the crowds at the People's Fair in the river-bed below. There was an Investiture in the



Diwan Am on the 14th following a review at which the troops under General Sir O'Moore Creagh, the Commander-in-chief, extended over two thousand yards in mass formation.

On December 15th the sovereigns each laid a stone in the avenue on the east side of the main pavilion of the Government of India camp. These stones are monuments of the King's presence for ten days, and foundation stones of the New Capital. Considerations of space and town planning, however, did not make the area west of the Ridge suitable, and it is subject to flooding at times, as in 1911 and 1924. An area between the Jantar Mantar, the Purana Kila and Safdar Jang's tomb was finally selected, the Viceroy's residence and two secretariat blocks being accommodated on the Raisina Mound. A new Cantonment has been built over the Ridge to the South-west.

On December 23rd, 1912, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, made a State entry into the capital city of Delhi. As he was leaving Government House, Calcutta, the flag staff was struck by lightning and the flag torn to ribbons. Fifty elephants took part in the procession from the central station to the Chandni Chouk and so to the Palace. But one elephant did not complete the journey. As the Viceroy with Lady Hardinge beside him passed the Punjab National Bank building, a miscreant threw a bomb, which burst just behind the howdah killing the chobdar holding the State umbrella. Fortunately the Viceroy was only wounded, pieces of the howdah being driven into his back and shoulders, while Lady Hardinge escaped unhurt, although

blown forward by the explosion. Lord Hardinge subsequently recovered from his wounds. The escort of Indian Princes drew swords and invested the house, but with no result. The crime had no connection with the inhabitants of Delhi.

The procession proceeded with a slight delay, and the ancient city was handed over by Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in the Diwan Am. In his speech he referred to the action of the Punjab and the Sikh Chiefs during the Mutiny, after which Delhi became a portion of the Punjab for fifty-five years. Sir Guy Fleetwood-Wilson read the Viceroy's reply. Delhi then became a separate province under a Chief Commissioner, on a parallel to the District of Columbia, surrounding Washington in the United States.

In 1922 another Prince of Wales visited Delhi during his Indian tour, and visited the seven cities.

The lay-out of the New Capital is due to a Committee, which included Captain Swinton, Sir Edwin Lutyens, and Mr. Brodie. The Architects were Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker. The Raisina Mound, an outcrop of the hills, was selected for Government House on the western, and twin three-storied secretariats on the eastern extremity, both demanding extensive "underground" rooms or tykhanas built up from the plain below. In the Secretariats are deposited the stones laid by their Majesties north of the Ridge.

At the time of planning, the assistance of the Indian army and people in the Great War and the advance of democratic principles had not

introduced the extension to India in 1919 of a Parliamentary form of government, partial though it may be at present. Therefore the principal feature is not a Capitol, or other Parliament House, and this had to be provided later, lying on one axis drawn from the easternmost point of the Mound to the Jama Masjid in Shahjahanabad. The Parliament House is of circular form enclosing three chambers for the Chamber of Princes, Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, with a central common library and the usual lobbies with other accessories. A second story will be added, and the Houses will thus not be quite so over-shadowed by the Secretariats. Round the west end of the Mound are grouped the residences of the Personal Staff of the Viceroy.

The second main axis is not at right angles to the first, but continues the axis of the Mound to the northern point of the Purana Kila, the reputed Indraprastha. There is a very broad Processional Kingsway, on either side of which are the residences of Members of Council, and at the east end is a War Memorial Arch. At the west end is a stone railing derived from Buddhist designs. Unfortunately the view of Government House is masked by the end of the Mound to an observer, except from the far end of Kingsway, and some means of improving this may be found. The other roads run at right angles to one or other axis of the lay-out, and commemorate by their names British Kings and Queens, Moghal Emperors and the three Viceroys at the times of the three Coronation Durbars. The Agra-Delhi Railway and the

canal have had to be diverted to carry out this plan.

The chief engineer in charge of the work up to 1925 was Sir Hugh Keeling, C.S.I. The question of cost is a prominent one, and the original rough estimate of four millions has proved inadequate; in fact, when all is taken into account, perhaps four times this amount may be spent. But critics may be unaware of the enormous cost of land near Calcutta, and the cost of a durable building or road material. The old builders had to bring water into their cities in open channels, now impossibly dangerous, and telephonic communication or electric lighting were unnecessary. The sites of their cities also were desert and only in time did they become "abad," populated or fit for a population. So history repeats itself.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Keeling', written in a cursive, flowing style.

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